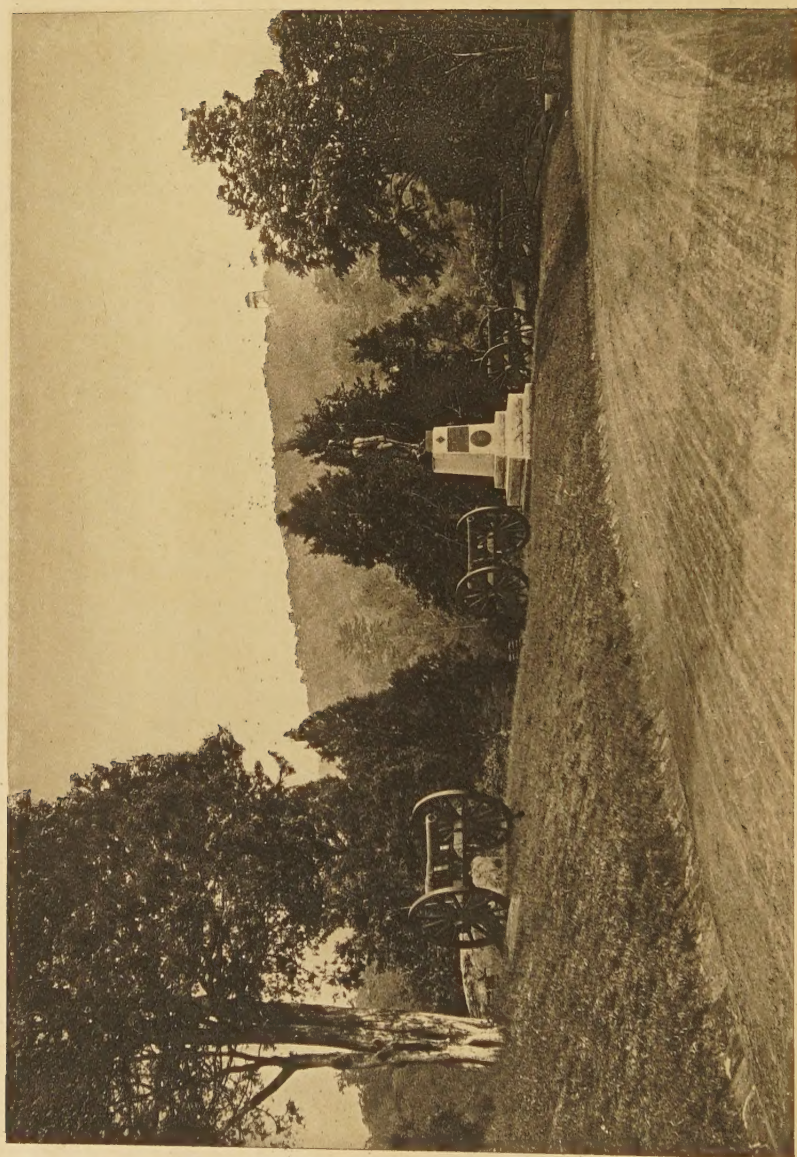






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Official Edition

THE NEW COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By John Clark Ridpath, LL. D.

Author of Ridpath's History of the World

Volume XI

INCLUDING the traditions and speculations of the pre-Columbian voyagers; the discovery and settlement of the New Continent; its development under colonial government and the establishment and progress of the Republic.

APPPOSITELY illustrated with original drawings, maps, portraits, and notable documents, selected for their contemporaneity from the Royal Archives at Genoa, Madrid, Paris, and London, by special permission of their governments, from the Department of State and the Library of Congress at Washington, and from private collections of rare Americana.



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CHAPTER XCVII.

FROM STONE'S RIVER TO CHICKAMAUGA

The government at Richmond was greatly disappointed and disturbed with the issue of Bragg's campaign in Kentucky. Almost as soon as he reached Chattanooga on his return, he received peremptory orders to move northward again. He at once started on his return march, reaching Murfreesboro about the middle of December, which place he fortified and went into camp. Murfreesboro, which was the scene of many stirring events during the war, lies thirty miles southeast of Nashville, in the midst of the great plain lying between the Cumberland Mountains and the Cumberland River, and is surrounded by a fertile and highly cultivated country. Stone's River, a quiet stream, but deep and with difficult banks, empties into the Cumberland several miles north of the town. The Confederate works extended north and south across this river and in front of the town, and were of great strength. Bragg had evidently counted on resting undisturbed in his winter quarters until spring. He was destined to sore disappointment, however.

On the 26th of December Rosecrans made a sudden move on Bragg's entrenchments. His march was so rapid that the Confederate outposts,

1862
Dec.

Bragg
goes into
camp at
Murfrees-
boro

1862
Dec. 31

Rose-
crans
attacked
Bragg's
entrench-
ments

which were driven before him, had no time to destroy the bridges on the turnpikes between Nashville and Murfreesboro. On the night of their arrival the soldiers lay down on the wet ground in the drenching rain without fires. At daybreak the next morning they were aroused to meet a sudden attack of the enemy, whom they had expected to remain on the defensive. The two divisions of McCown and Cleburne led a tornado-like charge and overpowered the right of the Union line by the fury of the assault, taking two batteries before a gun could be fired. In this charge 500 men were killed and wounded in one brigade within twenty minutes. Rosecrans' centre was the next point of attack, and against it Hardee hurled seven brigades of over 10,000 men at once. The first assault was unsuccessful, but two more followed, forcing back the centre towards the left and rear.

Bragg's
tempo-
rary
success

To seize Rosecrans' communications, it was necessary for the Confederates to obtain possession of the Nashville roads; but Sheridan barred the way. At last, after all three of his brigade commanders had been killed, his ammunition train captured, and the cartridge boxes of his men emptied, he fell back, and the brigades of Negley and Rousseau were obliged to follow. Out of his division he lost 1630 men. Bragg was now sure of victory, and ordered a final charge. Adams' and Jackson's brigades, veteran fighters, numbering more than 6000 men, advanced over the plain, a magnificent column of attack. When within a hundred yards, a double-shotted fire from fifty

cannon tore through their ranks. Still the line pressed forward until met by a deadly musketry fire which mowed them down in heaps. The advancing column turned, and what was left of it fled back to the shelter of their works. With that repulse the fighting for the day was over. During the night Rosecrans withdrew his left from the advanced position it had occupied, to more advantageous ground. His right, which had been broken, was re-formed and strengthened. Several of his officers regarded the situation as desperate and advised a retreat back to Nashville, but Rosecrans determined to carry on the fight.

1863
Jan. 1-3

Union
forces
hold
their
position

The next morning, January 1, 1863, numerous attacks were made upon Thomas' front in the centre, but were easily repulsed. No heavy fighting was done during the day, which the commanders spent simply feeling each other's lines. On the 2d a heavy picket firing opened the day. Rosecrans sent a force forward to plant artillery upon the heights east of the river, threatening Murfreesboro and Bragg's line of communication and commanding Polk's line. These Union forces Breckenridge attempted to dislodge, but after a loss of 1700 in half an hour was forced to retreat. Both armies were massed east of the river on the 3d, but there was little fighting, and Bragg, after consultation with his officers, determined to retreat. Cleburne and Withers stated that only three brigades were at all reliable, and that even those were more or less demoralized; and Polk advised withdrawal while it was possible, saying, "We could now perhaps get

Confed-
erates
forced to
retreat

1863

off with some safety and credit, if the affair was well managed; should we fail in the meditated attack the consequences might be very disastrous."

Ken-
tucky
in the
hands of
the
Federals

By midnight Bragg had drawn off his forces to a new position behind Duck River; and on the 5th of January, Thomas, preceded by Stanley's cavalry, marched into Murfreesboro and took possession. During the nine days' campaign the saddles had been taken from the cavalry horses only long enough to groom them. The Army of the Cumberland now rested in Murfreesboro. The last great battle for the possession of Kentucky had been fought, and the Federal troops had won. Bragg's forces on the beginning of the seven-days' fight numbered 46,604; his total losses were 9000 killed and wounded and 1100 prisoners. Rosecrans had 43,000 men, of whom 1553 were killed and 7245 wounded; he lost in prisoners 2800, and twenty-eight guns.

Repair-
ing
damages

For the next six months the Army of the Cumberland took little part in offensive or defensive operations. It busied itself with repairing railroads and restoring communications which had been destroyed. Much of this destruction had been accomplished by cavalry, an arm in which the Confederates were much stronger than the Federals. Rosecrans now set himself at work to strengthen his army in this direction, and later found the wisdom of so doing. Meanwhile the Confederate cavalry under Morgan, Forrest, and Wheeler were raiding through Kentucky and Tennessee, doing much damage.



GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS.



GENERAL JOSEPH HOOKER.

In March it was discovered that Bragg's army had been weakened by the withdrawal of several thousand troops to reinforce Johnston. Rosecrans was now directed to fall upon him and drive him into Georgia. Rosecrans had wished to defer any aggressive movement of importance until Grant was through with his operations at Vicksburg, and his assistance could be relied upon; but on the 25th of June, in obedience to orders, he moved out of Murfreesboro with an army of 60,000 men, and advanced upon the enemy's position.

At this time Polk's corps of Bragg's army occupied the main position at Shelbyville, strongly intrenched behind heavy works thrown up during the six months of waiting. Bragg's extreme right was at McMinnville; while Forrest, with a large cavalry force, had headquarters at Columbia. The main Confederate base of supplies was at Chattanooga. Rosecrans believed that Bragg intended to fight in his intrenchments at Shelbyville, where, if he should be defeated, he would be in a position to retreat to his intrenchments at Tullahoma. Rosecrans' plan of campaign was to turn the enemy's right, and secure his line of retreat by seizing the railroad bridge at Elk River. By this means Bragg would be forced to accept battle on grounds selected by Rosecrans, or be compelled to retreat.

These plans were promptly carried out. Step by step Bragg was pushed back from Shelbyville to Tullahoma, and from Tullahoma to Chattanooga, without a battle being fought. The campaign

1863

Rose-
crans
advances
upon the
enemyPlan of
campaign

1863
July

Bragg
forced
back
upon
Chatta-
nooga

lasted nine days, during which time Bragg was driven from these two strongly fortified positions with a loss of nearly 2000 prisoners, eleven pieces of artillery, and a large amount of stores and supplies. It was conducted in a series of rain-storms, the most violent ever known in Tennessee at that season of the year. The result gave to Rosecrans the possession of middle Tennessee, and placed the armies back in the relative positions occupied by them prior to the Confederate advance into Kentucky a year before. Bragg's army reached Chattanooga early in the month of July, and the work of fortifying the position was at once vigorously begun, strong defensive works being thrown up at each of the crossings of the Tennessee River for several miles above and below the city.

Strategic
Value of
Chatta-
nooga

The object of Rosecrans' campaign was to get possession of Chattanooga, the gateway to east Tennessee and northern Georgia. Here was the principal pass of the Mountains which separated the southern Atlantic States from the Mississippi Valley. Through it not only ran the river, but the railroads connecting the two divisions from the south. With the pass in the possession of the Union forces, the eastern Confederate States would be wholly cut off from the rest of the valley. In preparing for his operations against Chattanooga, General Rosecrans considered two plans; one of which was to make a direct attack on Bragg, the other was to flank him out of his position as he had forced him to abandon his works in the

Tullahoma campaign. The latter was chosen.

Bragg had confidently expected a front attack, and had made elaborate preparations to resist it. That movement would compel Rosecrans to move his army some seventy miles through a country poorly supplied with water, with no forage and over narrow and difficult roads; but he decided instead to cross the Cumberland mountains, throw his army over the Tennessee into Lookout Valley, cross Missionary Ridge, and make his attack from the opposite side of the town. The movement began August 16, and Chattanooga was reached August 21. Rosecrans had so disposed his forces that Bragg was uncertain where to look for his real advance; and by making feints at various points, Rosecrans was able to throw his forces across the river without resistance.

1863
August

Rose-
crans'
plan of
advance

There were three passes over the mountains which now lay between the Union army and Chattanooga; the nearest, two miles below the town; another, twenty-six miles, and a third, forty-two miles south. Bragg, while defending the nearest pass, gave no attention whatever to the other two, through which Rosecrans pushed the divisions of his army, endangering Bragg's communications and forcing him to choose between immediate retreat or ultimate surrender. He decided upon the former, and hurriedly evacuated the town, moving down the railroad through Dalton to La Fayette. Rosecrans took immediate possession, and, leaving a sufficient force to hold it, went in pursuit. Bragg in the mean time had been re-

1863
Sept.

inforced by Johnston and Buckner, and Longstreet was within a day's march. He now determined to make a stand, issuing orders to his commanders to concentrate along the east bank of the Chickamauga ready for an advance.

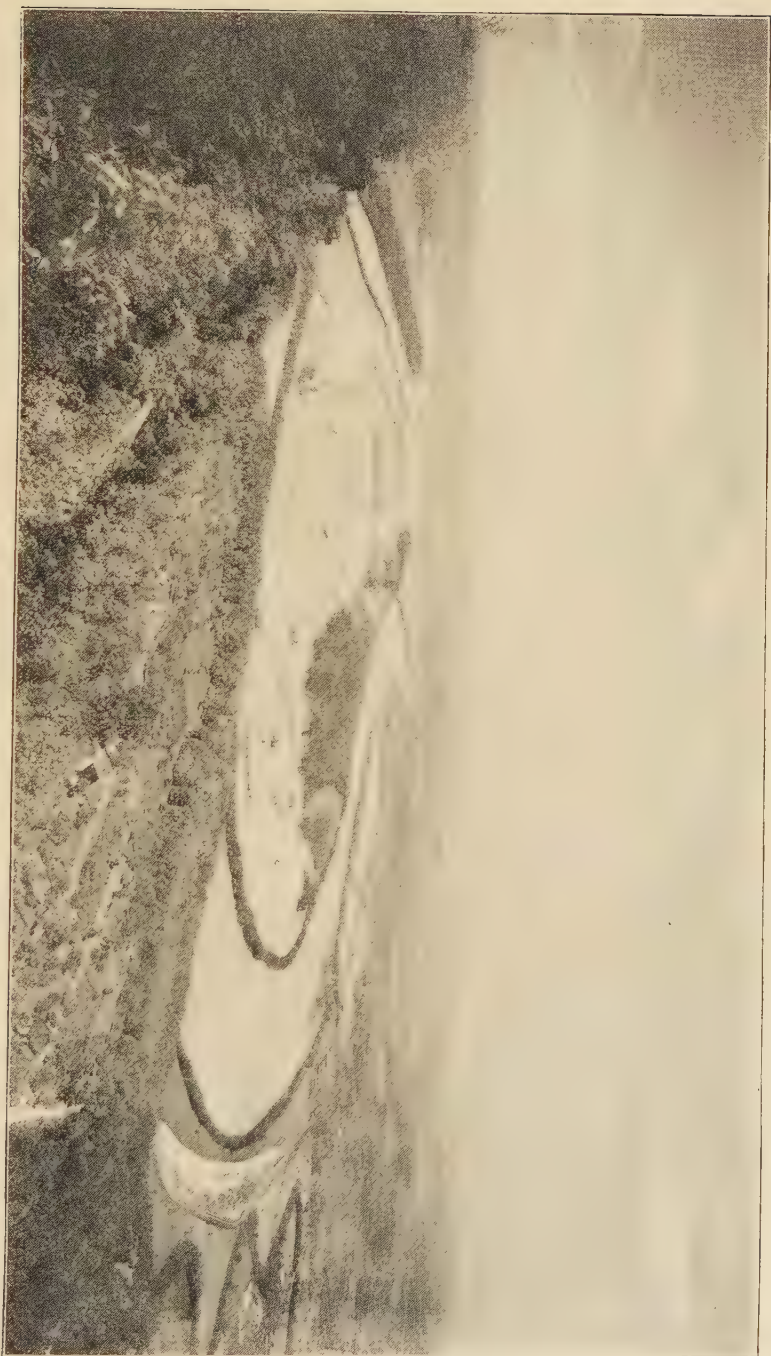
Junction
of
Confederate
forces

Rosecrans in the meantime had become aware of the junction of the three Confederate forces and made preparations for the work in hand. Bragg's plan was to destroy Rosecrans' left by an overwhelming attack, get into his rear, seize the roads, and retake Chattanooga. This intention was guessed by the disposition of his forces, and the Union left was so strengthened that an advance by Longstreet's corps on the 18th was forced back, and a large number of prisoners taken.

The first
day one
of hot
fighting

The conflict began early on the morning of the 19th, by an assault on the left of the Union line held by General Baird. It was made in overwhelming force; Baird was driven back in confusion, and his artillery captured. Ten minutes later a countercharge was made, the assaulting column was repulsed and the lost artillery retaken. The entire day was a series of brilliant charges and countercharges, in favor of first one side and then the other. When night came the battle was yet undecided, though in the main the day's results were in favor of the Union forces. Bragg had been forced to defend himself before he was in position, and had been foiled in his attempt to secure the roads, which were the main object of the fight.

At half-past eight o'clock the next morning a



MOCCASIN BEND, TENNESSEE RIVER.

(From Lookout Mountain.)

tremendous assault was made on the Union left, Beatty's brigade of Negley's division receiving the full force of the blow. Later Longstreet ordered a charge in which General Lytle was killed, and several thousand prisoners, forty guns, and a large number of army wagons were captured. Rosecrans' right centre was pierced, and the enemy gained La Fayette Road, which led into Chattanooga. Throughout the day the fighting continued, now in favor of one and now in favor of the other contestant. Toward night the Union right was driven back with heavy loss. There were signs of a panic in that part of the field, and but for Thomas' courage the day had been lost. The army was withdrawn after dark, and so quietly that it was beyond reach and safe behind its works before Bragg discovered its absence.

1863
Sept.

Second
day
results
in Union
rout

The battle of Chickamauga was one of the most fiercely contested of the war. It was clearly a Confederate victory, but a barren one. The largest number of troops Rosecrans had during the two-days' fighting was 55,000 men. His losses were, killed, 1687; wounded, 9,394; missing, 5255,—the total loss being 16,336. Bragg had on the second day 70,000 troops in line. His losses were 2673 killed, 16,274 wounded, and 2003 missing, making in all 20,950.

Heavy
loss on
both
sides

As soon as the army was safe within Chattanooga, Rosecrans began strengthening the fortifications covering all approaches to the front. Bragg followed closely, and threw up three lines of intrenchments with a strong line of earthworks

Bragg
invests
Chatta-
nooga

1863
Oct.

on the crest of Missionary Ridge; massing the main body of his army, however, in the valley near Rosecrans' front. The position was so strong that he felt it could not be safely attacked, and made preparations for a prolonged siege. He seized all the railroads leading into Chattanooga, and also held possession of the Tennessee River so that Rosecrans' food supply was entirely cut off.

Rose-
crans
relieved
by
Thomas

On the 16th of October, 1863, the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee Departments were merged into the military division of the Mississippi, the command of which was given to Grant. At the same time Rosecrans was relieved of the command of the Department and Army of the Cumberland, and sent to Missouri, and Thomas appointed to his place. One of Grant's first acts on taking command was to telegraph Thomas to hold on to Chattanooga at all hazards. Food had become so scarce that the men were on half rations, and thousands of horses and mules died for lack of forage. Hooker, who was now at Nashville, was instructed to concentrate the Eleventh and part of the Twelfth Corps, and advance as rapidly as possible to coöperate with the army at Chattanooga. Grant arrived on the 23d of October for consultation with Thomas, and preparations were at once begun for the relief of the place. On the 15th of November Sherman reached Chattanooga, his forces swelling Thomas' army to about 80,000 men. It was now determined to make an immediate advance upon the Confederate lines.

Sherman
reaches
Chatta-
nooga

Chattanooga Valley lies between two mountain



GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG.



GENERAL S. B. BUCKNER.

ridges; that on the west known as Lookout Mountain, about 2400 feet high. On the other side of the valley is Missionary Ridge. Bragg's line extended twelve miles along the north end of Missionary Ridge, and from there across the valley to Lookout Mountain. The entire distance was strongly defended. On the Federal side Thomas held the centre at the town itself, with Hooker on the right at the foot of Lookout Mountain, the left being held by Sherman on the northern side of the Tennessee River.

1863
Nov.

Bragg's
position
on Mis-
sionary
Ridge

On the night of November 23, Sherman threw two pontoon bridges across the river, over which his troops passed, and at three o'clock he had taken possession of the north end of Missionary Ridge. During the earlier part of the day the valley was covered by a dense fog. Under its cover Hooker advanced up Lookout Mountain which was covered with rocks and ledges and fallen trees. The men had been ordered to halt when reaching the plateau at the top of the ridge; but they were wild with their success, and charged upon the Confederates with such vigor that their lines broke and they fled down into the valley. The position was held until the next morning, when Hooker moved his whole corps down the eastern slope of the mountain, and with reinforcements at the foot drove the enemy from the valley and crossed to Missionary Ridge, where Bragg's whole army was now stationed.

Hooker
crosses
Lookout
Mountain

And faces
Bragg at
Mission-
ary
Ridge

In the mean time Sherman had made his attack, but met with a fierce opposition. Grant at last

1863
Nov. 25

Which is
strongly
fortified

Gallant
charges
by Union
forces

sent an order to Thomas to drive the enemy out of the rifle-pits along the lower slope of Missionary Ridge. A line was formed of the brigades of Sheridan, Wood, and Baird. At 2 P. M. the troops moved out as if on parade, and rapidly advanced towards the Confederate line. The pickets were driven in, the first line of rifle-pits carried, and several hundred prisoners were taken. Originally, the enemy had four lines of breastworks. Three lines now remained. The second was within a half-mile of the first, at the foot of the mountain. From this line to the summit there was a steep ascent of a quarter of a mile covered with obstructions. The crest of the hill was protected by fifty pieces of artillery. After taking the second line of rifle-pits, the soldiers charged up the slope, working their way through fallen timber and piles of rocks. At this point they were met with plunging fire from the works on the crest of the ridge. Without waiting for orders, regiment after regiment started up the ascent, cheering along the entire line. Sheridan's division was soonest up, but was immediately followed by others, the Confederate line being broken in six places. Entire regiments and batteries were taken, in some cases the latter being turned on the enemy; who at last, panic-stricken, broke and fled in spite of their officers. Sheridan kept close upon the heels of the retreating rear-guard, and captured many men with artillery wagons and trains. The fierceness of the one-hour's fighting may be appreciated by the losses sustained on both sides. Two divisions

of Sheridan and Wood met with a loss of over 2200 men. There were captured by the Army of the Cumberland forty pieces of Artillery, 6000 stand of small-arms, and nearly 6000 prisoners.

1863
Nov.

Immediately after the battle of Chickamauga, peremptory orders were sent from Washington for Burnside, who was in pursuit of the Confederates under General Jones, beyond Knoxville, to hurry to reinforce Rosecrans. Before his arrival, however, a portion of the Ninth Corps reached Chattanooga, relieving the situation. Burnside therefore changed the direction of his march towards Knoxville, where he was followed by Longstreet. He reached the lines on the 18th of November, and Longstreet, who was not strong enough to attack until reinforced, now invested the city.

Burnside
marches
to Knoxville

Sherman now marched to the relief of Burnside. His movements came to the ears of Longstreet, who determined upon an attempt to carry the city before his arrival. At daylight, November 29, he made a desperate attack, but was repulsed, losing a thousand men, while the loss of Burnside was only forty-three. A week later Longstreet retired and took a position near Morristown. After a few days' rest, leaving a portion of his troops at Knoxville, Sherman returned to Chattanooga, while the army went into winter quarters.

Long-
street
driven
from
Knox-
ville

Longstreet's movement upon Knoxville and the destruction by his forces of the means of communication interrupted the accumulation of supplies. With the sudden setting in of cold weather, the roads through Kentucky became impassable;

Suffering
of Union
army
during
the
winter

1864

and through the winter the Union forces in East Tennessee suffered for food and clothing.

The
stress in
Knox-
ville

General Cox, in describing the condition, says that a drove of cattle that had been collected at Knoxville before the siege became so thin for lack of forage that during the month of January, when they were turned over to the troops for beef, they were so poor that they could hardly stand up. It was the custom of the commissary to drive the cattle over a little ditch in the field where they were corraled, and those only were killed which could not get over; their weakness proving that it would not do to keep them longer, whilst the others might still last for future use. Indian corn was ground up, cobs and all, for bread; bran and shorts were diligently hunted and used for the same purpose. The half naked soldiers hovered around their camp fires, some without coats, some without pantaloons, some with tattered blankets tied about their waists. Even during that time, the majority of the rank and file whose terms of service were ended enlisted for another three years, or during the war. As soon as railway transportation could be had in the spring, the United States Sanitary Commission sent forward carloads of potatoes, onions, vegetables, and other anti-scorbutics. Full rations were again issued; large quantities of clothing were received, sufficient to put the troops in good shape; and by the beginning of March the army was well clothed, well fed, and ready for action.

Improved
condition
in the
spring

CHAPTER XCVIII.

CHARLESTON AND MOBILE BAY

On the 7th of April, 1863, an attack was made upon the batteries at Charleston, South Carolina. The naval force employed consisted of eight monitors under the command of Rear-Admiral Dupont. The total armament was thirty-three guns, of the heaviest calibre ever before used in war. To oppose this formidable force were Fort Sumter, Fort Moultrie, Battery B on Sullivan's Island, Battery Beauregard on Sullivan's Island, Fort Wagner, and Cumming's Point Battery on Morris Island; mounting all together sixty-nine guns, five of which were mortars. The action lasted only about two hours and a half, when Dupont drew the monitors out of range; the next morning he decided not to renew the attack. In May he was superseded in his command by Admiral Dahlgren, who joined with the army forces under General Gillmore in a second attack early in July.

General Gillmore's plan for securing a lodgment on Morris Island included a demonstration on James Island by way of Stone River; this being to prevent the sending of reinforcements to the Confederates on Morris Island from that quarter. The plan was more far-reaching than the mere capture of the island with its works. These

1863
April-
July

Dupont's
attack
upon the
batteries
at Char-
leston

Plans for
capture
of Char-
leston

1863
July 8-18

once in hand, the next step would be the demolition of Fort Sumter, which would be possible by turning the captured Confederate guns upon the fort; and this taken, the capture of Charleston would easily follow.

First
attack
partially
success-
ful

On the 8th of July General Terry landed on James Island with 3800 men. On the next night a brigade was embarked in boats upon Folly Island, and in the early morning a combined attack was made. All the Confederate batteries on the south end of the island, containing eleven heavy guns, were taken in succession, and at nine o'clock the larger part of the island was in possession of the Federal troops. The heat was intense, so that many of the men were prostrated, and it was deemed advisable to postpone further attack until later in the day.

At sunrise on the morning of July 11 an unsuccessful assault was made. The following week was spent in preparing for the second attempt. Forty-one guns, including siege mortars, were put in position to bear on the fort. On the 18th all these opened fire at once, the navy closing in and taking active part in the engagement.

Sumter
battered

Great clouds of smoke hung over the ironclads, the Union batteries, the Confederate earthworks, and the walls of Sumter. The air was rent with the thunder of countless explosions, simultaneous or in quick succession. By sunset Sumter seemed beaten out of shape. Every shell that struck sent a column of sand high into the air; great furrows seamed and scarred the slopes. In the Union lines

it was believed that every gun of the enemy had been silenced, and the garrison driven from the fort. It was a fatal mistake. The garrison still held possession, and, despite the terrible fire, had had but four men killed and fourteen wounded.

1863
July 18

It was now decided that an assault should be made on Wagner that night. Brigadier-General Truman Seymour was assigned the command and charged with all the details. And now occurred one of the most famous episodes of the war; not so bloody nor so important as many others, but notable as the first proof in the contest of the fighting ability of the negro.

Only an hour or two before the time appointed for the charge, the Fifty-fourth Regiment, colored, reached the ground. Colonel Shaw, its commander, was anxious to have it take part in the proposed movement, and it was finally decided to allow it to lead the assault. The regiment had been without a regular issue of rations for two days, and had been deprived of rest for two nights, exposed to drenching showers and a blazing sun, but notwithstanding was in the highest spirits. It numbered but 600 men.

Shaw's
colored
regiment
to the
front

It was understood that the fort was to be taken by the bayonet, and that the support would follow close after the stormers. When the signal was given, the men sprang to their feet and advanced at quick time toward the works. Three-quarters of a mile of sand lay between them and the battery. Colonel Shaw led with the national colors. At first only an occasional shot from

1863
July 18

Awful
cannon-
ading

the enemy was heard; soon guns in Sumter and the Sullivan's and James Island batteries began to play upon the column, but with little effect. When 150 yards from the works, a terrific artillery and musketry fire came from Wagner. The air was full of deafening explosions. Whirlwinds of grape and canister swept the whole front.

Colonel
Shaw
killed

Instead of falling back, the Fifty-fourth changed its step to the double-quick and pressed on, stumbling over the prostrate forms of comrades or into the pits made by the shells and the batteries; through the ditch and up the slope. Colonel Shaw, who had been ever in advance, sprang upon the parapet waving his sword, when he was struck by a musket shot and fell dead. The regimental colors were planted on the work, together with the national flag. For a short time a hand-to-hand struggle went on between the attackers and defenders; then, with three times their number of equally brave men in their front, the assailants fell back.

Assault
upon
Wagner
fails

Up to this time not a shot had been fired by the regiment; now the men began capping their pieces and picked off the gunners, who could be seen standing out against the sky above them. It was seen that the garrison and works were stronger than had been supposed. By this time Strong's brigade came up. Colonel Putnam was also ordered to advance his regiments, and desperate fighting took place about the salient, the inner parapet, and the gun chambers. At last orders were given to retire.

This was the second assault made upon Wagner, which did not fall until September 7, 1863, when it yielded to the spade and not to the bayonet. The Confederates lost 174 killed and wounded, including a number of officers. The Union loss was 1517, which included over 100 officers; embracing General Seymour, wounded; General Strong, mortally wounded; Colonel Putnam, killed. Of the ten regimental commanders, Colonel Shaw was killed, Colonel J. S. Chatfield of the Sixth Connecticut mortally wounded, and five others wounded. The Fifty-fourth Massachusetts suffered more severely than any other regiment: of the 600 who went into the fight, twenty were killed and 227 wounded and missing.

1863-4**Union
forces
lose
heavily**

Mobile and Wilmington were the only ports open to blockade runners in the summer of 1864. The more important of these two was the former. Mobile lies at the head of Mobile Bay, about thirty miles from the Gulf of Mexico; the width of the bay varies from fifteen miles at the lower end to six at the upper, the principal entrance being from the Gulf of Mexico, direct between Mobile Point and Dauphin Island. The entrance was guarded by two works,—Fort Morgan on Mobile Point, and Fort Gaines on Dauphin Island. Admiral Farragut wished to attack the east defense and capture the city before the Confederates had finished the ironclads they were building.

**Strength
of Mobile**

In January, 1864, Admiral Farragut, with his fleet, was lying off Mobile Bay. He knew that the Confederates were constructing some powerful

1864
August

Farragut
and his
fleet in
front of
Mobile

ironclads at Mobile, and he planned to force an entrance into the bay and capture the forts before they could be finished. He made a reconnaissance and discovered that no Confederate war vessels were in the lower bay. He at once urged the Navy Department to send an ironclad to accompany his wooden fleet in an attack upon the forts, and also asked for a brigade of 5000 soldiers to coöperate in their reduction. He saw that with this assistance the forts could be captured with ease. With proper support he could gain the inside of the bay, stop the planting of torpedoes, and prevent any ironclads from crossing the bar, over which they had to be floated.

Siege
of Fort
Gaines

He depended upon the army under General Banks; but just at that time the Red River campaign was undertaken, and for lack of land forces he was obliged to give up his plans, while every day the Confederate situation was being made stronger. On the 1st of August, however, General Canby was ordered to make arrangements to coöperate with the fleet; and on the 3d of August a division of troops under General Granger landed on the west end of Dauphin Island, and began preparations for the siege of Fort Gaines. Four monitors had now reported; at last the time arrived for which Farragut had so long waited.

Fort Gaines was a small work constructed of brick and earth, but was weak in its armament and caused little uneasiness to the fleet. On the right of the entrance was Fort Morgan, strengthened by great piles of sand-bags covering

its front, and armed with three tiers of heavy guns, all within point-blank range of the only channel through which the fleet could pass. Near Fort Morgan were anchored three gunboats and the ram *Tennessee*, the most powerful ironclad built by the Confederacy. Besides these there was a line of pile obstructions across the channel, and a triple line of torpedoes.

On the 5th Admiral Farragut decided upon an attack of the forts. The wooden vessels were lashed together in pairs with strong cables; the *Hartford*, Farragut's flagship, being coupled with the *Metacomet*. The *Brooklyn*, which was lashed to the *Octorara*, took the lead, as it was provided with an appliance for picking up torpedoes. The ironclads, which were arranged in a line by themselves, were the *Tecumseh* and *Manhattan*, single-turreted monitors, the *Winnebago* and *Chickasaw*, each with two turrets. At six in the morning the fleet was under way, the *Tecumseh* firing the first two shots at the fort. Admiral Craven, who was in command, steamed on ahead of the *Brooklyn*, the other monitors following. Craven, fearing the *Tennessee* would get away from him, pushed the *Tecumseh* straight at the monster. She had gone but a few yards when a torpedo exploded under her bow. She at once careened and went down head foremost, carrying with her the captain and crew of 113 men, only twenty-one of whom were rescued. A few minutes later several dark objects were seen in the water ahead, which proved to be buoys to torpedoes. The *Brooklyn* and her consort stopped

1864
August

Defen-
sive
obstruc-
tions

The
attack
upon the
forts

1864
August

Failure
of the
tor-
pedoes

and backed, nearly touching the *Hartford* just behind. Farragut hailed and asked what was the matter. "Torpedoes ahead!" was the answer. "Damn the torpedoes!" he cried. "Go ahead! Give her all the steam you've got!" The *Hartford* and *Metacomet* then swerved from the line, steamed ahead of the *Brooklyn* and the monitors, and took the lead. As they went over the line, the torpedo cases were heard knocking against the bottom of the ship and the primers snapping; but not a single torpedo exploded, and the *Hartford* went through, making a safe path for the other vessels behind her.

During the pause caused by the failure of the *Brooklyn* to get ahead, the whole fleet was a point-blank target for the guns of Fort Morgan and the gunboats. A deadly rain of shot and shell fell upon the *Hartford*, mowing down the men and deluging the decks with blood.

Farragut
lashed
to the
rigging

Soon after the beginning of the fight, Farragut, finding that the smoke interfered with his view from the deck, climbed the mainmast rigging to a place immediately below the main-top. Here, in the futtock-shrouds, he could lean either backward or forward in a comfortable position, having free use of both hands to hold his glass. Captain Drayton, commanding the *Hartford*, fearful that some accident might occur which would throw the admiral to the deck, sent a man aloft with a small rope to secure him to the rigging. Here he remained during the passage of the forts. After an hour's fight the three ironclads retreated up



BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY.

the river, the *Tennessee* proceeding to the shelter of Fort Morgan. The fire of the whole fleet was now turned on the *Tennessee*, and at last the concentration of solid shot from so many guns began to tell. The flagstaff and smoke-stack were shot away, and finally a solid shot from one of the monitors cut her rudder chains so that she could no longer mind her helm. Her bow and port shutters were jammed so that those guns could not be used, and she drifted helplessly down the bay, followed by the unrelenting monitors, under the continual pounding of whose heavy guns her plates at last began to loosen and vibrate. She was now rammed by the *Hartford*, and at the same moment a broadside from the *Chickasaw* gave the *coup de grace*. A white flag was run up. The battle was ended after three hours of hard fighting. Mobile was no longer an open port for blockade runners, or Mobile Bay a place of refuge for Confederate cruisers.

1864
Aug. 5

End of
the fight

The story of the capture of Newbern and Plymouth, North Carolina, has already been told. Three separate attempts were made by the Confederates subsequently to recapture these places, the last in the spring of 1864. Great hopes were placed upon the assistance of the *Albemarle*, a powerful ironclad which was nearly finished. General Hoke was placed in command of the land forces, and preparation was made to storm the forts and breastworks as soon as the *Albemarle* could clear the river fronts of the Federal war vessels. On the 18th of April, 1864, the ironclad

Newbern
and
Plym-
outh

1864
April

Appear-
ance of
the
"Albe-
marle"

started on her trial trip, and floated down the stream to Plymouth. Her first attack was made upon two steamers, the *Miami* and the *Southfield*, which were going up the river lashed together with long spars and chains festooned between them. Captain Flusser, of the Union navy, who commanded, intended to catch the ram between the two, and thus destroy her power of injury except by her guns. The *Albemarle*, however, avoided the trap, and rammed the *Southfield* so that she sank at once. The *Miami* at once opened fire with her heavy guns, and Captain Flusser was killed by the explosion of one of his own shells.

Hoke
takes the
fortifi-
cations

The next morning General Hoke captured the fortifications with very heavy loss. On the 5th of May the fight was resumed, with the *Albemarle* on one side and several ironclads on the other. The *Albemarle* was given no opportunity for ramming, and her guns did little injury. At last she was rammed by the double-ender *Sassacus*, and so badly injured that she steamed back into the Roanoke River and anchored close in shore. Her last shot was fired just after the impact, penetrating the boilers of the *Sassacus*, killing and scalding a number of men. The *Albemarle* now constituted a continual hindrance in the way of further operations on the Roanoke River; but there was no ironclad which could cross the Hatteras Bar to engage her, and none of the wooden vessels were strong enough to injure her.

At this stage of affairs, Lieutenant W. B. Cushing of the navy submitted a plan for her

destruction. His plan was to make a night attack in a light-draft boat, fitted with a long boom, at the end of which was fixed a torpedo. He proposed, with a picked crew, to run the launch in the darkness of the night past the guards, make a bold dash, thrust the torpedo under the hull of the *Albemarle* and explode it. The plan was successfully carried out. On the night of October 27, with a crew of fifteen officers and men, he set out from the fleet some miles below, and got within sixty feet of the *Albemarle* before he was discovered. The alarm was given, and the sentinels on shore began firing at the launch. The Confederates had anticipated such an attack, and had surrounded the ram with a raft of logs thirty feet wide. Cushing, however, ran the bow of the launch upon the logs, and lowered the boom so that the torpedo came under the side of the vessel and exploded it. At the same moment one of the guns of the ram fired a shot which crashed through the boat and sunk it. Cushing was ordered to surrender, but refused; and ordering his men to save themselves as best they could, he dived and swam down the river. A mile below he reached the shore and hid in a swamp, where he was found and fed by some negroes. Up to that time he was unaware whether the explosion had been successful or not. From these negroes he learned that the *Albemarle* had been sunk. Another night was spent in the swamp close to where a picket of seven soldiers were posted. They had a little boat moored in shore, which he captured while they

1864
Oct. 27

Daring
exploit
resulting
in the de-
struction
of the
"Albe-
marle"

1864

Plym-
outh re-
captured

were at supper, paddled in it down the river, and at midnight was safe aboard one of the vessels of the fleet. With one exception, all the rest of the dauntless little crew were drowned or captured. The *Albemarle* being thus out of the way, Plymouth was shortly after recaptured. After the war the *Albemarle* was raised, towed to Norfolk, and sold there.

CHAPTER XCIX.

CIVIL EVENTS FROM MID-WAR

The decisive victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg came too late to restore the enthusiasm for enlistment which had filled the early Union armies with volunteers: that great uprising could happen but once. Long before this, a conscription act had been passed to fill the depleted ranks, for volunteering had nearly ceased; and the immediate and sardonic (though unrelated) sequel to these turning-points of the war was a series of resistances to conscription by mobs in several Northern cities. The only serious one, however, was the riot in New York, full of an undigested foreign populace wonted to insurrection and hatred of government. This assumed the proportion of a brief civil war; putting the great city for two or three days in the hands of the mob, and involving a shocking amount of atrocious murder and arson, as well as bloodshed in repressing it.

Up to the 1st of January, 1863, 1,200,000 men had voluntarily taken up arms in defense of the Union. The time of hundreds of regiments had expired, while the numbers lost in battle and from sickness had reduced this number more than one-half. On the 3d of March the act was passed by Congress for the enrollment of all able-bodied

1863

Feeling
against
the con-
scription
act

1863

Local
disturb-
ances

citizens irrespective of color, between the ages of 18 and 45 years; and in the following month a draft of 300,000 men was ordered to be made from this enrollment. During it disturbances occurred in various places, which were speedily quieted. The draft began in Rhode Island July 7, in Massachusetts the following day; and proceeded with more or less friction in the various States until July 11, the day appointed for the drawing to commence in New York.

Incite-
ments to
violence

Governor Horatio Seymour of New York a few days before had addressed a large mass-meeting composed of the advocates of peace. In the course of his remarks he said, "Remember that the bloody, treasonable, and revolutionary doctrine of public necessity can be proclaimed by a mob as well as by a government." Many newspapers, which professed to be devoted to the Constitution, now lent themselves to the task of inciting the populace to violence, denouncing the acts of the government as outrages, and asserting that the war had been provoked by the Abolitionists. The draft was denounced as unconstitutional and an infraction of the rights of the States.

It would be unjust to say that there were no real grievances, though some of them could not be avoided. The one most bitterly resented by the working classes was the provision by which the payment of a money indemnity—\$300—freed the payer from military service. This was inevitable, for the government must have money as well as men, and it was a form of special taxation; but

it was regarded by many of the masses and represented by incendiary speakers and politicians, as exacting the blood of the poor and sparing all the well-to-do, to which this sum was a bagatelle. Again, the Republican War Department officials had "doctored" the quotas so as to throw an unfair proportion on the heavily Democratic sections; this was admitted and remedied, but inflamed Democratic wrath. Oddly enough, the inclusion of colored men in the draft incensed the Irish element perhaps more than anything else, until a witty poem by an Irish officer showed them its absurdity; and this, with its being a war for "the nigger," turned their fury against the colored population.

The Ninth Congressional District, inhabited by a great foreign working class, was the heart of the opposition. On the day of the drawing the authorities had taken what they supposed would be adequate means for preventing trouble. Hardly had the names been deposited in the wheel when the sound of a gun was heard in the street, probably as a signal; the next moment a shower of stones and brickbats crashed through the windows and doors of the house, followed by the entrance of the mob, who beat and drove the provost-marshal and his deputies away, smashed the furniture, and set fire to the building. The flames caught in the adjoining houses, and the entire block was soon in flames. The superintendent of police, who had been sent for, was set upon and barely escaped with his life. By this time several thousand rioters

1863
July 11

Causes
for bitter
feeling

Begin-
ning of
the riot
in New
York
City

1863
July

Rioters
destroy
property

had gathered, who drove off the provost-marshal's guard, and attacked a company of soldiers which had been sent for, took away their muskets, killing and wounding several. A strong detachment of police was sent to restore order, but was forced to retreat. The rioters now paraded the streets of the upper part of the city, forcing everybody they met into their ranks, and breaking into hotels and saloons for liquor. The mayor's residence on Fifth Avenue was attacked and the windows broken, while the houses of well-known Union men were broken open, sacked, and set on fire. The headquarters of the Eighth District, as well as those of the Fifth, were burned to the ground. The firemen were not allowed to extinguish the flames.

Vent
spleen
upon the
negroes

The wrath of the rioters was especially turned towards the negroes. Hotels and restaurants, and even private dwellings where negro servants were employed, were invaded; scores of inoffensive black people were dragged into the streets, beaten to death, hanged to trees and lamp-posts, and fires built under them as they hung. At night the mob attacked the colored orphan asylum on Fifth Avenue, a benevolent institution where several hundred children were cared for. A strong body of policemen defended it long enough for the frightened inmates to escape by the rear doors, but could not hold it for any length of time against the furious crowd, who sacked the building and set it on fire. Unfortunately, there was no adequate military force in the city. The Seventh Regiment, with nearly all the militia companies of the city,

had been hurried to Pennsylvania to repel Lee, who was reported to be marching with his whole army into the State. But the following day was destined to witness disturbances of a bolder kind.

1863
July

The rioters were joined by the criminal classes of the city, who found unbounded opportunities for plunder. They were armed with guns, pistols, clubs, pieces of iron railing,—everything, in fact, that might serve as a weapon. They now numbered several thousand, and completely dominated the northern part of the city. The hunting down of negroes, the sacking and burning of buildings, went on as the day before. Business was completely stopped, the owners of stores shutting and barring their doors and windows. The whole city was in a state of terror. One arsenal was captured and the arms taken, and a thousand or more carbines seized; telegraph wires were cut, and for a time the rioters held the city in their possession.

A reign
of terror
in New
York

In the mean time, the governor (Horatio Seymour), the mayor (George Opdyke), and other officials, and General Wool, who was in military command of the department, took measures to put down the mob. General Wool brought in about 800 troops, including the companies from West Point. Every militiaman left in the city was ordered on duty, and to these forces were added 2000 policemen. Large numbers of citizens volunteered, organized, and were furnished arms and ammunition. The first collision with the rioters was in Second Avenue, where the police met a detached body, dispersed them, and retook the

Efforts to
restore
order

1863
July

Fights
upon the
streets

carbines that had been stolen. Separate fights took place in Broadway, in Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Avenues, and in a number of the cross streets, the rioters in every instance being dispersed. Barricades had been built in Forty-second and Twenty-ninth Streets. These were stormed and carried, although with some loss. The mob attempted to burn the office of the *Tribune*, Greeley's "Black Republican" paper, but were driven off. An officer, Colonel O'Brien, who had dispersed a squad of rioters, sprained his ankle and stepped into a dry-goods store; the proprietor in fear for himself ordered him out, and the mob instantly murdered him and dragged his corpse up and down the streets.

In the mean time, a gunboat had been stationed in East River, with orders to open fire with shot and shell upon the mob in case they should attempt an attack upon Wall Street and the public offices in the vicinity. On the third day the militia regiments began to return from Pennsylvania, and at once took part in the task of restoring proper conditions. The mob was still raging, but batteries were placed in the localities where there was the most trouble, in a position to rake the streets. The final struggle took place near Gramercy Park on the evening of the fourth day, where a body of rioters, who had been sacking private dwellings, fired upon a force of infantry and cavalry which had been sent to protect the property. The infuriated soldiers entered the houses, killed many of the rioters, chased and

End of
the riot
after four
days

threw many from the roofs, arrested others, and pursued those who had escaped up the streets, dispersing them in all directions. The riot lasted four days. More than a thousand of the rioters were killed, and there was a loss in private property of nearly \$1,500,000.

1863

President Lincoln was appealed to for a suspension of the draft until the constitutionality of the conscription act could be decided upon by the courts. To this the President would not consent. He was willing to do what he could towards hastening the decision of the Supreme Court, but he could not afford to wait for it. "We are contending with an enemy," he said, "who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen. No time is wasted, no argument is used. This produces an army which will now turn upon our victorious soldiers in the field, if they shall not be sustained by recruits as they should be. My purpose is to be in my action just and constitutional, and yet practical."

Lincoln's
attitude
upon the
draft

On the night of August 19, the draft was resumed, and no more trouble was experienced. Riots of less magnitude also occurred in Boston, Troy, Jersey City, and some other places, but were quickly put down with some small loss of life. It is a curious fact that although only about 50,000 of the 300,000 men called for were raised, in the next October, on the second call for the same number of men; the entire quota was obtained without trouble.

The
second
call for
troops

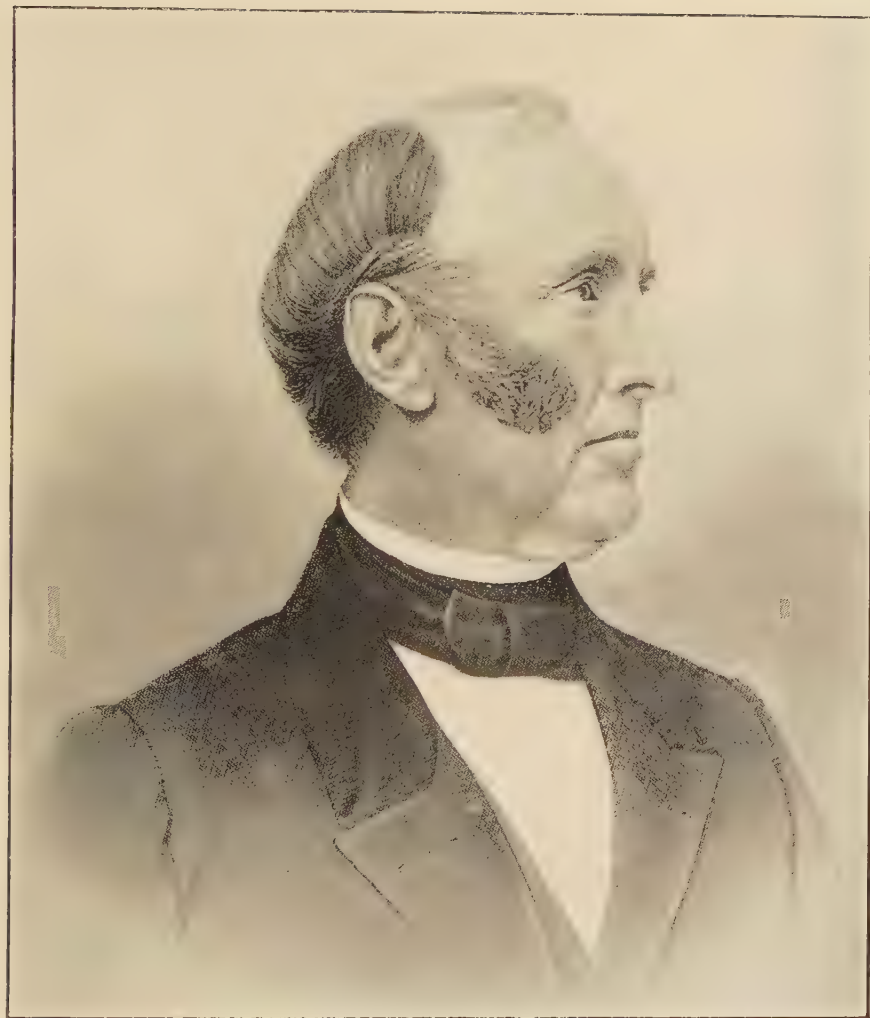
1861

Arbitrary
methods
of the
adminis-
tration

It must not be supposed that all who opposed the administration were in sympathy with the Southern cause, or were destitute of patriotism. At the beginning of the war the methods of the War Department at Washington were as tyrannical as those at Richmond, or in England during the French Revolution. People were arrested without warrant for a too-free expression of opinion and thrown into prison, lying there sometimes for weeks, and then discharged without trial; newspaper offices were closed for the same reason. Kentucky citizens were arrested for holding peace meetings. In New York, editors were arrested and confined for printing what were alleged to be disloyal articles. Hundreds of men in the border States were subjected to the same treatment, charged with no offense, brought before no magistrate for examination, and denied the benefit of writs of *habeas corpus* issued in their behalf. All that can be said is, that no government in a life-and-death war has ever felt able to let its enemies at home cut the ground from under its feet.

Arrest of
members
of Mary-
land Leg-
islature

One of the most notorious instances of this arbitrary policy on the part of the government was the order of the Secretary of War to arrest the members of the Maryland Legislature in the fall of 1861, if an attempt were made to pass an ordinance of secession. In accordance with this order, General Dix arrested ten members of the Legislature, the mayor of Baltimore, a Congressman, and two editors, while Banks at Frederick



WENDELL PHILLIPS.

apprehended nine others. All these were sent to different forts and kept in confinement for greater or less periods of time. The only justification for these acts was that the parties imprisoned were guilty of treasonable utterances, which gave aid and comfort to the enemy.

1863

So grossly unjust were some of these arrests that leading members of the President's own party in Congress denounced them. Senator Trumbull introduced a resolution asking information in regard to them, and asked for an investigation. Senator Hale declared that they were made in violation of the Constitution. Leading Republican papers pronounced against them. Wendell Phillips, in a meeting in New York, said:

Investi-
gation
sought

"Lieber says that *habeas corpus*, free meetings like this, and a free press are the three elements which distinguish liberty from despotism. All that Saxon blood has gained in the battles and toils of two hundred years are these three things; but to-day, Mr. Chairman, every one of them, *habeas corpus*, the right of free meeting, and a free press, is annihilated in every square mile of the republic. We live to-day, every one of us, in martial law. The Secretary of State puts in its Bastile, with a warrant as irresponsible as that of Louis, any man whom he pleases, and you know that neither press nor lips may venture to arraign the government without being silenced. At this moment, when those men at least are bastiled by an authority as despotic as that of Louis, there are three times as many as Eldon and George III. seized when they trembled for his throne. For the first time on this continent we have passports, which even Louis Napoleon pronounces useless and odious."

Phillips'
speech
in New
York

Perhaps the instance of arbitrary arrest which created the most discussion was that of Clement L.

1863
April-
May

Vallandigham of Ohio, one of the leading Democratic politicians of the West, whose ambition was to become the Douglas of that party in his section. He was an eloquent speaker, and possessed wide influence among the men of his political faith in Ohio. Even before the war he was obnoxious to the Union men of the State; and had now become the Democratic candidate for governor. On the 1st of May, 1863, a party mass-meeting was held at Mount Vernon, where he was chief speaker.

The case
of
Vallan-
digham

At that time Burnside, who was still smarting under the criticism of his defeat at Fredericksburg, was in command of the Department of the Ohio. On the 13th of April he issued a general order, in which he said: "The habit of declaring sympathy for the enemy will not be allowed. It must be distinctly understood that treason, expressed or implied, will not be tolerated in this department." At the meeting referred to Vallandigham was the chief speaker, and grossly violated that order. He could have been arrested by warrant and tried under due process of law; but here Burnside made his mistake. Instead, Vallandigham was forcibly arrested by a squad of soldiers, who broke into his house without warrant, and taken to Cincinnati, where he was confined in a military prison. On the 6th of May he was brought before a military commission for trial. He refused to plead, and made a formal protest. Application for a writ of *habeas corpus* was refused. On the 16th of May the commission found him guilty, and sentenced him to close confinement during the war.

General Burnside approved the sentence, and designated Fort Warren as the prison. This sentence, however, was changed by the President to banishment beyond our military lines to the Southern Confederacy. Much to his disgust, Vallandigham was not welcomed by those whom he had championed, and whom he assured that if they would hold out till the next election, the Northern people would hurl the Republican administration from power; and he made his way to Canada, and later, before the close of the war, back to Ohio. That he deserved suppression as a mischievous enemy is unquestionable; but his arrest, made in the manner it was, was illegal and unjustifiable. The United States courts were open in the district, and he was clearly entitled to trial therein.

At this time Burnside seems to have lost his head as completely as he did at Fredericksburg. Shortly after Vallandigham's arrest he issued a second order, announcing that "the publication or circulation of books containing sentiments of a disloyal tendency comes clearly within reach of General Order No. 38, and those who offend in this manner will be dealt with accordingly." On the 1st of June an order was promulgated, in which it was said, "The circulation of the *New York World* is calculated to exert a pernicious and treasonable influence, and is thereby prohibited in this department. On account of the repeated expression of disloyal and incendiary sentiments, the publication of the newspaper known as the *Chicago Times* is

1863

Vallan-
digham
not wel-
comed
at the
South

Books
and
news-
papers
pro-
scribed

1863

hereby suppressed." Twenty-four hours later two companies of infantry from Camp Douglas took possession of the *Times* office, stopped the press, destroyed the papers which had been printed, and placed a guard over the establishment.

Burn-
side's
order
con-
demned

The next day a meeting of Democrats and Republicans alike, with the mayor as chairman, voted unanimously to request the President to rescind Burnside's order. The Ohio Legislature, which was then in session, denounced the order by resolution; and in the evening in Court-House Square, in Chicago, a mass-meeting of loyal citizens condemned it, and passed resolutions to the effect that the freedom of the press must not be interfered with, and that the military power must remain subordinate to the civil authorities. On the following day the President directed that Burnside's order should be rescinded, and the general was warned to make no more arrests of civilians and to suppress no more newspapers without first conferring with the War Department at Washington.

The case
of
Dr. Olds

About the same time Dr. E. B. Olds of Ohio, a man of seventy, who had served three terms in the State Legislature and six years in Congress, was taken from his house at night without legal warrant and sent to Fort Lafayette, on the charge that he had discouraged enlistments. This act was warmly resented, and while he was yet in prison he was nominated and elected by his friends to represent them again in the State Legislature. These arrests were not only absolutely futile for

good, but they aroused stronger and more active opposition to the administration.

1863

Count Gurowski, then living in Washington, wrote, "In justice to Mr. Lincoln, he is pure and has no despotical longings, but he has around him some atomistic Torquemadas." Aside from the intrinsic injustice of this policy, it was hurtful in that it gave the opponents of the war a strong argument against the administration, which, it was charged, was already beginning to tread the path from democracy to despotism. So evident did this become to the President that on the 14th of February, 1862, he ordered, "That all political prisoners or State prisoners now held in military custody be released, on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States; and that to such as shall keep their parole, armistice is granted for any past offenses or treason or disloyalty which they may have committed." To this it was added, "That extraordinary arrests will hereafter be made under the direction of the military authorities alone." This order was at once carried into effect.

Release
of
political
prisoners

On the 7th of December, 1863, the thirty-eighth Congress assembled in its first session. Its debates and acts were largely confined to the finances of the country, slavery, military affairs, and the relation of the seceding States to the Union. A bill was passed to repeal the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and all acts and parts of acts for the rendition of fugitive slaves. The commutation

Repeal
of the
Fugitive
Slave
Law

1863

clause of the conscription act was repealed. An act was passed giving negro soldiers the same pay as white, increasing soldiers' pay up to \$16 a month, and establishing a Bureau of Military Justice. Measures were taken for the formation of State governments in Colorado, Nevada, and Nebraska.

Gold at a
premium

The derangement of the finances after the first year of the war had been a source of many inconveniences. By the beginning of 1862 gold had disappeared from circulation, and was selling at a premium. Silver followed, and small coins disappeared from circulation. Hundreds of business houses, restaurants, and country storekeepers issued promises to pay, either by notes of small denominations or metal tokens. In July, 1862, the issue of these was prohibited by Congress, and postage stamps were made to serve the purposes of currency during the preparation of government scrip; which was issued a little later in denominations of five, ten, fifteen, twenty-five and fifty cents. Municipalities were authorized to issue fractional notes, for which the faith of the cities was pledged. It was not until 1876, eleven years after the close of the war, that these disappeared and were replaced by subsidiary silver coin.

And
issue of
govern-
ment
scrip

In his report, the Secretary of the Treasury strongly advocated a national banking system which should work the gradual retirement of notes of the State banks. The circulation of the banks of the United States, he argued, constituted a loan without interest from the people to the

banks, costing them nothing except the expense of issue and redemption, and the interest on the specie kept on hand for the latter purpose; and it was a question whether sound policy did not require that the advantages of this loan be transferred, in part at least, from the banks representing only the interests of the stockholders, to the government, representing the aggregate interests of the whole people. By such action, the people, in their ordinary business, would find the advantages of uniformity in currency; of uniformity in security; of effectual safeguard, if such were possible, against depreciation; and of protection from losses in discounts and exchanges: while in the operations of the government the people would find the further advantage of a large demand for government securities, of increased facilities for obtaining the loans required by the war, and of some alleviation of the burdens on industry through a diminution in the rate of interest, or a participation in the profit of circulation without risking the perils of a great money monopoly. A further and important advantage to the people would be the increased security of the Union springing from the common interest in its preservation, created by the distribution of its stocks as the basis of their circulation to associations throughout the country. The notes thus issued would form the safest currency which the country ever enjoyed; while their receivability for all dues, except customs, would make them of equal value as a currency in every part of the Union.

1863

Argu-
ment for
adoption
of a
national
banking
system

1863-4

A
national
currency
provided
for

Succeed-
ed by a
healthy
financial
condition

At the opening of the fiscal year 1863, there remained in the Treasury a balance of \$13,000,000. On the 17th of January, 1864, an additional issue of United States notes to the amount of \$100,000,000 was put forth. On the closing day of the session, March 3, the act to provide ways and means became a law. Besides the various provisions for loans, it repealed the restrictions affecting the negotiation of the five-twenties, thus disengaging that loan from the embarrassments which had made it almost unavailable. An act was passed in accordance with this suggestion, which provided a national currency through the national banking system, and received the sanction of the President. The passage of these two acts was followed by an immediate revival of public credit. Within two months after Congress had adjourned, the total amounts of suspended requisitions had been satisfied, all current demands promptly met, and full provision made for the payment of the army and navy. The receipts during the year from all sources, including loans and the balance in the Treasury at its commencement, were about \$901,000,000, and the aggregate disbursements about \$896,000,000; leaving a balance on the 1st of July of over \$5,000,000. The receipts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1864, were about \$1,400,000,000, and the disbursements \$1,300,000,000. The amount of the public debt on that date was more than \$1,700,000,000.

During this session the Commissioner of Internal Revenue recommended an increase of the

duty on distilled spirits to sixty cents per gallon. It had previously paid twenty cents. In January a bill to that effect was introduced to take effect upon its passage. Fernando Wood of New York offered an amendment taxing whisky on hand, which, he proposed, should pay forty cents additional to the twenty cents it had already paid. His purpose was to reach the speculators who had bought it for the rise. Other amendments increasing the amount of the tax were offered. The large distilling States stood up for their local interests, and took the ground that the taxes on whisky on hand had been fairly and honestly paid. The discussion was long and bitter. Fernando Wood declared that the Committee on Ways and Means, which was against taxing the present stock, was favoring the monopolists and speculators at the expense of the public treasury. The Senate and House disagreed; and the law, as finally determined, merely taxed at sixty cents a gallon spirits distilled after the passage of the act.

1864

Warm
contest
over
whisky
tax

It was openly charged that bribery had been used to defeat the taxation of liquor in stock. Greeley, in the *Tribune*, said, "The whisky gamblers have cornered the Treasury and pocketed some five millions." And he set forth a statement of facts in connection with the legislation, from whose conclusion there could be no appeal. "Who believes," he asked, "that the subservient members have given up this immense sum to the whisky gamblers and have kept nothing for themselves? We do not." Nor was Greeley alone in his opinion.

Charges
of
bribery

1864

Tax
greatly
increased

It was the common belief that Congressmen had been paid to secure this legislation, by a fund raised by the distillers and speculators; and it was even declared that members of the House Committee of Ways and Means and the Senate Committee on Finance had been tampered with. By the act of June 30, 1864, the tax on spirits was made \$1.50 a gallon, to take effect at once, and \$2.00 after February 1, 1865. David A. Wells, chairman of the Revenue Commission, said in his report of January, 1866:

Distil-
ling pro-
moted

Immense
profits to
stock-
holders

“The immediate effect of the enactment of the first three and successive rates of duty was to cause an almost entire suspension of the business of distilling liquor, which was resumed again with great activity as soon as an advance in the rate of tax in each instance became probable. The stock of whisky and high wines accumulated in the country under this course of procedure was without precedent; and Congress, by its refusal to make the advance in taxation in any instance retroactive, virtually legislated for the benefit of distillers rather than for the Treasury and the government. The profits realized by the holders of stocks thus made in anticipation of the advance in taxation has probably no parallel in the history of any similar speculation or commercial transaction in this country, and cannot be estimated at less than fifty millions.”

On May 31, 1864, a convention was held in Cleveland of the radical branch of the Republican party, which nominated General Frémont for

President and General John Cochran for Vice-President. It was not largely attended. Its main planks were that the subject of reconstruction belonged to Congress and not to the President, and that the property of "rebels" ought to be confiscated and distributed among the soldiers and settlers.

1864

Radicals
hold con-
vention

A week later, on the 7th of June, the regular Republican Convention assembled at Baltimore. On the second vote, Lincoln was unanimously nominated for President with Andrew Johnson for Vice-President. The main planks of the platform were the restoration of the Union; the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; the suppression of the rebellion; the repudiation of compromise with the insurgents; the abolition of slavery by constitutional amendment; the emancipation proclamation, and the employment of negro soldiers; pensions for soldiers and sailors disabled by wounds; redress for the treatment of prisoners of war; the encouragement of immigration; the inviolability of the public debt; and the application of the Monroe Doctrine.

Planks
in the
platform
of the
regular
Republi-
can Con-
vention

On the 30th of June, Mr. Chase, who had discharged the duties of Secretary of the Treasury with singular ability, suddenly tendered his resignation. There were several reasons for this. Chase had never been a harmonious factor in the Cabinet. He hated both the Blairs and disliked the President for specific reasons. Congressman Francis P. Blair had made a speech in the House

Resigna-
tion of
Chase

1864

Charges
made
against
Chase
by Blair

of Representatives, in which Chase was charged with using the power of his office in a way to provide a fund for securing his own nomination for the Presidency; that he had given to his son-in-law, Governor Sprague, a permit to buy cotton at the South by which he would probably make \$2,000,000; and that he had allowed Jay Cooke & Co., the financial agents of the government, to secure extravagant and irregular profits in the disposal of the 5-20 bonds. No one credits these charges now; the President believed him to be of transcendent ability and wholly patriotic; but he believed that there were men left of adequate competency, and that Chase's conviction of being indispensable, and his disappointment over not being made the Presidential candidate, were making him too hard to work with.

The position was offered first to David Todd of Ohio, who declined it; it was then offered to Senator Fessenden of Maine, who at first refused but afterwards accepted it.

Increasing
desire for
peace

On the 2d of July, Congress passed a resolution requesting the President to appoint a day for humiliation and prayer. This was set for the first Thursday in August. All this time there was a constant increase in the eagerness for peace and in dissatisfaction with the President. So powerful had this sentiment become that in New York City some of the leading men issued a private call for a convention to be held in Cincinnati, September 28, to nominate, if necessary, a new candidate for President. A month before that time Greeley

said: "Mr. Lincoln is already beaten. He cannot be elected, and we must have another ticket to save us from utter overthrow. If we had such a ticket as could be made by nominating Grant, Butler, or Sherman for President, and Farragut for Vice, we could make a fight yet; and such a ticket we ought to have anyhow, with or without convention."

1864

It was suggested that both Lincoln and Frémont should retire from the field. The editor of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, the leading paper of that section, said: "The people regard Mr. Lincoln's candidacy as a misfortune. His apparent strength when nominated was fictitious, and now the fiction has disappeared and instead of confidence there is distrust. I do not know a Lincoln man, and in all our correspondence, which is large and varied, I have seen few letters from Lincoln men. The withdrawal of Lincoln and Frémont, and the nomination of a man that would inspire confidence and infuse life into our ranks, would be hailed with general delight."

One
editor's
view of
Lincoln's
renomination

In the latter part of August, Thurlow Weed wrote to Secretary Seward, "I see nobody from other States who authorizes the slightest hope of success." Senator Washburn wrote from Illinois, "Were an election to be held now in Illinois, we should be beaten." Cameron wrote that Pennsylvania would go Democratic; Governor Morton declared that nothing but the most strenuous effort could carry Indiana. Raymond believed that New York would go 50,000 against the continuation

The outlook in
August

1864

of the war. The causes assigned for this reaction in public sentiment were the want of military success, and the general impression that no settlement could be secured under Lincoln's administration.

Greeley's
tender to
the Pres-
ident

In July, Mr. Greeley, who was a persistent advocate for peace on almost any terms, received a letter from certain Confederate agents in Canada; these wrote that the South was desirous that the war should end, and that they were accredited ambassadors of the Confederate government, and authorized to consider any suggestion or plan towards that end from the United States government. Greeley at once forwarded this letter to the President, saying that the country longed for peace, shuddered at the prospect of fresh conscriptions, and of new rivers of human blood, and urged him to make a frank offer to the insurgents of terms which the impartial would say ought to be accepted, and to invite them to present their credentials and submit their ultimatum.

Greeley's
letter

"I know," he wrote, "that nine-tenths of the whole American people, North and South, are anxious for peace—peace on almost any terms—and utterly sick of human slaughter and devastation. I know that, to the general eye, it now seems that the rebels are anxious to negotiate and that we repulse their advances. I know that if this impression be not removed, we shall be beaten out of sight next November. I firmly believe that, were the election to take place to-morrow, the Democratic majority in this State and Pennsylvania would amount to 100,000, and that we should lose Connecticut also. Now, if the rebellion can be crushed before November, it will do to go on; if not, we are rushing on certain ruin. . . . Now, I do not know that a tolerable peace could be had, but I believe it might have been last month; and, at all events, I

know that an honest, sincere effort for it would have done us immense good. And I think no government fighting a rebellion should ever close its ears to any proposition the rebels may make. I beg you, implore you, to inaugurate or invite proposals for peace forthwith. And in case peace cannot now be made, consent to an armistice for one year, each party to retain, unmolested, all it now holds, but the rebel ports to be opened. Meantime let a national convention be held, and there will surely be no more war at all events."

1864

Lincoln immediately wrote to Greeley: "If you can find any persons anywhere professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis in writing for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you." Greeley proceeded to Niagara Falls, where, on the American side of the river, he opened communications with the writers of the letter. He soon ascertained that they had no authority whatever from the government at Richmond. The agents asserted, however, that any terms proposed would be considered by the Confederate government. These facts were telegraphed to the President, who sent his private secretary, John Hay, to Greeley, with the following paper:

Lincoln's
reply

"July 18, 1864. *To whom it may concern:* Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on other substantial and collateral points, and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

Terms in
a nut-
shell

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

1864

These terms at once stopped further negotiations. The whole was a cleverly devised scheme to put before the country the apparent fact that the Confederate government had made an earnest attempt to bring about peace, and that it had been contemptuously rejected by the President.

Davis
demands
independ-
ence as
only
basis of
peace

A second attempt was made by the Reverend James F. Jaques and J. R. Gilmore who went to Richmond, ostensibly to pave the way for a treaty of peace, but really to extract from Jefferson Davis an unmistakable declaration that no treaty could be had except on the basis of an acknowledgment of Southern independence. Davis was asked by them if there were any possible means that could be tried that might lead to peace; to which he answered: "I desire peace as much as you do; but the war must go on until the last man of this generation falls in his tracks and his children seize his musket, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are fighting for independence, and that or extermination we will have. I shall at any time be pleased to receive proposals for peace on the basis of our independence. It will be useless to approach me with any other." The mission was completely successful. That part of the Democratic party who were loudly declaring that there was no difficulty in securing peace on the basis of the preservation of the Union, could now be confronted with an authentic denial.

In addition to the disaffection in his own party, the radical Democratic politicians of the

West gave the President grave cause for worry. Governor Morton of Indiana telegraphed to Secretary Stanton in the summer of 1864, that a movement was in contemplation by the Democratic majority in the Legislature of that State to pass a joint resolution acknowledging the Southern Confederacy, and to appeal to the States of the Northwest to dissolve all constitutional relations with the New England States. The same state of things, he said, prevailed in Illinois. These apprehensions proved to be unfounded; but the Legislature refused to support his measures for carrying on the war. The Legislature finally adjourned without making the necessary State appropriations for the next two years, and Morton with the aid of the Republican business men carried on the government without them, keeping the State's quotas filled and shipped, and answering all the calls of the national government. In the Legislature of Illinois, resolutions were introduced providing for an armistice, and recommending a convention of all the States to agree upon some adjustment of the national troubles. They failed to pass, however.

1864

Disaffec-
tion in
Indiana
and
Illinois

In the autumn of 1863 the extreme portion of the Democratic party formed a secret society called at first "Knights of the Golden Circle." Later the name was changed to that of the "Order of American Knights." The lodges were known as "temples." The penalty for the violation of the oath was death. Of course there were plenty of spies to penetrate its secrets, and in the spring

Knights
of the
Golden
Circle

1864

Purpose
of organ-
ization

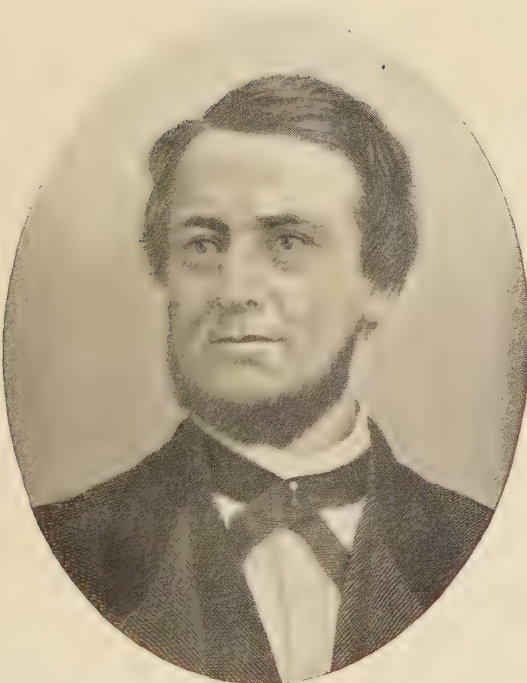
of 1864 the name was again changed to the "Sons of Liberty"; and Vollandigham, at that time an exile in Canada, was chosen its supreme grand commander. The membership was confined to certain sections of the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, and Missouri. The purpose of the organization was to interfere with the draft, to resist arbitrary arrests, and to free the Confederate prisoners in the different prison camps of the West, and finally to work for the establishment of a Northwestern Confederacy. These schemes, however, were almost wholly confined to talk.

Revolu-
tionary
schemes
in the air

At that time General Rosecrans was in command of the Department of the West, with his headquarters at St. Louis. He learned that Vollandigham was about to return from Canada, and that the Sons of Liberty had planned to rise throughout the Northwest and revolutionize the loyal States. The members of the order, whose numbers were enormously exaggerated in the minds of the people, were all supposed to be armed and ready for a concerted movement.

It was planned by a number of the lodges that the movement should begin with armed resistance to the draft; and during the excitement caused by such action, the prison camps in Illinois, containing nearly 25,000 prisoners, should be attacked, the prisoners set free and provided with arms, that act to be followed by the seizure of the State governments of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

Some time before, Jacob Thompson, the former Secretary of the Interior under Buchanan, had



C. L. VALLANDIGHAM.

been sent by Jefferson Davis as a commissioner to Canada to further the interests of the Confederate States from that vantage-ground. He sought out Vallandigham, and offered to furnish him money and arms for the promotion of a Northwestern Confederacy; but Vallandigham refused, declaring that he could not identify himself with the Southern cause nor take any part in a war against the national or State government. Thompson, however, was brought into communication with one of the high officials of the order, to whom he gave money to be used in arming and mobilizing regiments of the "Sons of Liberty."

1864

Vallandigham
refuses
his aid

July 20 had been fixed upon by the head of the order as the day for a general rising, but the date was later postponed to the 16th of August. It was planned that a series of peace meetings should be called in order to prepare the minds of the people. For these Thompson furnished all the money necessary, writing to Slidell and Mason after the first had been held, informing them that "political meetings, called peace meetings, have been held and inflammatory addresses delivered; and whenever orators have expressed themselves for peace with the restoration of the Union,—if that could not be, then peace on any terms,—the cheers and clamors of the masses have known no bounds." Mass-meetings were called to be held at Chicago, Indianapolis, and other points, on August 16, but when that date arrived, the nerves of the leaders of the order had apparently relaxed, and the movement collapsed.

A general
rising
proposed

1864

Situation
in
Indiana

At that time preparations were making for the State election in Indiana. Governor Morton came up for re-election on the Union ticket, while Joseph E. McDonald, a Union Democrat, was his opponent. The plan of the proposed rising came to the ears of the latter through the chairman of the Democratic State Committee. He at once declared that the movement must come to a halt; that, if not, he would inform the authorities. The same stand was taken by other prominent Democrats, and the whole scheme came to naught.

Seizure
of arms

The grand commander of the order in Indiana was a printer named Dodd. At the instance of Governor Morton, the police seized in his printing-office thirty-two boxes marked "Sunday-school Books," which were found to contain 400 navy revolvers and 135,000 cartridges. Other boxes of this kind were seized in New York City destined for Indianapolis. These were purchased with money furnished by Thompson. Before the seizure of these arms, a committee of the "Sons of Liberty" met the Confederate agent in Canada and agreed that the rising should take place without fail on August 29, the day of the assembling of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The agent promised the committee abundant means for the transportation of several thousand armed men to Chicago, and, as a proof of his sincerity, paid over the money.

On the day before the opening of the Democratic Convention, Captain Hines, the Confederate agent, with sixty chosen men, arrived at

Chicago. Word had been conveyed to the prisoners at Camp Douglas that a plan to liberate them was on foot, and that they were expected to assist in the movement for their escape. The government from the first had been kept informed of every movement, and had largely strengthened the garrison at the camp, besides taking other precautions. When this became known, the project was abandoned, much to the disgust of the Confederates, who had spent a large amount of money with worse than no returns. A number of the "Sons of Liberty" in Indiana were arrested and tried. Three of them were found guilty and sentenced to death. The President postponed action in confirming the judgment, and they were finally discharged.

In September the Confederate agents in Canada planned the capture of the United States steamer *Michigan*, the only war vessel patrolling the lakes. At first an attempt was made to corrupt the officers with a large amount of money. This was found impossible, and under Thompson's direction it was decided to seize her by force. On September 19, Acting-master John Y. Beal of the Confederate service, with twenty followers, took passage on the merchant steamer *Philo Parsons* plying between Detroit and Sandusky. After leaving port they seized the vessel, shooting the engineer. They also seized the steamer *Island Queen*, an excursion boat, which they scuttled. The *Parsons* was then headed for Sandusky Bay for the purpose of attacking the *Michigan*; but Beal's followers protested so strongly that they all

1864

The
scheme
falls
through

Attempt
to
capture
vessels
on the
lakes

1864

Execu-
tion of
Beal

returned, and disembarked in Canada. Beal was arrested in New York State, on December 16, for attempting to wreck a passenger train in order to rob the express company. He was tried by military commission for the seizure of the *Philo Parsons*, found guilty of carrying on irregular or guerrilla warfare against the United States, and was condemned to be hung. The sentence was carried out on the 24th of February, 1865.

On the 16th of June, 1864, the Confederate Secretary of War authorized Lieutenant Bennet H. Young to organize a small company for special service. This special service consisted of burning and ravaging towns in the New England States along the Canadian border, and seizing whatever he could convert to the use of the Confederate government. C. C. Clay, another Southern agent in Canada, furnished Young money for his expenses and planned his first proposed expedition.

St.
Albans
raided by
Con-
federates

On the 19th of October, Young, with thirty armed Confederate soldiers, not in uniform and wearing nothing to show their military character, crossed the Canadian border to St. Albans, Vermont, took possession of the business portion of it, robbed the banks of over \$200,000, fired upon a group of unarmed citizens, killing one and wounding others, seized a number of horses, and rode rapidly back to Canada. The people were utterly paralyzed by the suddenness of the attack, and the Confederates were out of sight before a party of mounted citizens started in pursuit. The robbers were not overtaken until they had crossed

the border. They still followed, however, and at their instance Young and twelve others of his party were arrested by the Canadian authorities. The Canadian government showed every disposition to bring the criminals to justice, either by extradition to the United States or by trial for the infraction of Canadian law. The prisoners were brought before Judge Coursol, a virulent sympathizer with the South, who discharged the prisoners for want of jurisdiction, and ordered the money taken from them and in the hands of the Canadian police to be restored. For this Judge Coursol was suspended from office by the Canadian Parliament. The prisoners were again arrested and taken to Toronto for trial; but the proceedings dragged along until the war was ended, when further prosecution of the offenders was dropped. The Canadian government, however, refunded the stolen money to the St. Albans Bank.

The Confederate agents in Canada had not, in the mean time, given up the plan of rescuing the prisoners at Camp Douglas, and the night of election day, November 8, was fixed upon for the attempt. In conjunction with the "Sons of Liberty" they planned to assemble a larger force than the garrison, with which they proposed to attack the camp, release and arm the prisoners, cut the telegraph wires, burn the railroad depots, seize the banks and stores containing ammunition, take possession of the city, and commence a campaign for the release of other prisoners of war in Illinois and Indiana.

1864

Arrests
madeBut
matter
finally
droppedDesigns
of Con-
federate
agents

1864

Arrests
and sen-
tences

The colonel commanding at the camp, B. J. Sweet, on November 6 wrote to the commander of the department, "The city is filling up with suspicious characters, some of which are known to be escaped prisoners and others who are here from Canada plotting to release the prisoners of war at Camp Douglas." On that date he arrested Colonel St. Leger Grenfell, a Canadian officer who was one of the conspirators, Colonel Marmaduke, with three other Confederates and nine "Sons of Liberty," besides seizing a quantity of arms and ammunition. Seven of those arrested were tried by military commission: two were acquitted, one escaped, one committed suicide in prison, one was sentenced to the penitentiary for three years, another for five; Grenfell was condemned to death, but the sentence was afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life in the Dry Tortugas off the coast of Florida.

What
Thomp-
son
proposed
to do

The character of Thompson's schemes may be gathered from his own correspondence. In September he wrote, "I advanced to Mr. Minor Major \$2000 in Federal currency; and soon afterwards several boats were burned at St. Louis, involving an immense loss of property to the enemy. Money has been advanced to Mr. Churchill of Cincinnati to organize a corps for the purpose of incendiarism in that city." A little later he writes, "Having nothing else on hand, Colonel Martin expressed a wish to organize a corps to burn New York City. He was allowed to do so, and a most daring attempt has been made to fire that city."

In carrying out this plan, picked men were detailed, and the time fixed upon was the night of November 8; but as preparations were not completed at that time, the attempt was postponed until November 25, when the Astor House, the St. Nicholas, Metropolitan, Fifth Avenue and seven other hotels, and Barnum's Museum, were simultaneously set on fire by the use of phosphorus and turpentine. None of the attempts were successful, however, the fires being discovered and extinguished in each case by the employees at the different hotels. A man named Kennedy, who set fire to Barnum's Museum and three of the hotels, made his escape to Canada; but, attempting to work his way south through Detroit, he was arrested, sent to New York, tried by military commission, found guilty, and was hung on the 25th of March at Fort Lafayette.

August 29, 1864, the Democratic Convention met in Chicago with Governor Seymour as chairman. McClellan was nominated for President on the first ballot. A resolution drawn up by Vallandigham was adopted by the convention, as follows:

"That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war; justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

1864

Firing of
New York
hotelsMcClel-
lan nomi-
nated by
Demo-
crats

1864
Declara-
tions of
the
platform

The platform declared unswerving fidelity to the Union under the Constitution; that the war had proved a failure; that public liberty and private rights had been trodden down; that immediate effort should be made for peace on the basis of the federal union of the States; that the Constitution had been shamefully violated by military interference, and that such interference ought to be resisted; that the existing administration had been guilty of many acts of usurpation and tyranny; that it was responsible for the sufferings endured by the prisoners of war; that the sympathy of the Democratic party was extended to the soldiers who were and had been under the flag of the country; and that in the event of the Democratic party attaining power, they would receive all the care and protection and kindness that the brave soldiers of the republic had so nobly earned.

McClellan
accepts

In his letter accepting the nomination, General McClellan repudiated the main resolution of the platform, that the war had been a failure. He declared that the Union must be preserved at all hazards. "I cannot look," he said, "in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren have been in vain; that we have abandoned that Union for which we have so often periled our lives."

The Democrats of the country hailed the nomination with enthusiasm, and at first there was fear of defection from important Republican

quarters; but the outburst proved to be only temporary. Four days later came the news of the fall of Atlanta, and the people who had just been told that the war was a failure now recognized that a great and decisive blow had been struck. Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay had come just before, and the effect of the two victories caused a complete revulsion of feeling throughout the country. A letter of Grant, to Senator Washburn, was now made public, forming a strong campaign document. In it Grant said:

"All we want now to insure an early restoration of the Union is a determined unity of sentiment North. The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing, from desertions and other causes, at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is not far distant, if we will only be true to ourselves. Their only hope now is in a divided North. This might give them reinforcements from Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, while it would weaken us. With the draft quickly enforced, the enemy would become despondent, and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but the enemy are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects. They hope a counter-revolution; they hope the election of the peace candidate. In fact, like 'Micawber,' they hope for something to 'turn up.' Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would but be the beginning of war, with thousands of Northern men joining the South because of our disgrace in allowing separation. To have 'peace on any terms,' the South would

1864

Change
of public
senti-
mentGrant
portrays
desperate
plight
of the
South

1864

demand the restoration of their slaves already freed; they would demand indemnity for losses sustained; and they would demand a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South. They would demand pay for the restoration of every slave escaping to the North."

Patriot-
ism
aroused

In mid-September Sheridan sent Early "whirling through Winchester," and swept him from the Shenandoah Valley. An electric thrill ran through the whole country. The old patriotic feeling was aroused again. The reports from Farragut, Sherman, and Sheridan were powerful campaign documents. People began to say as they met one another in the street that the war was not a failure, after all, and should be prosecuted to the end. These things changed the whole face of the political campaign.

And
assur-
ance of
Lincoln's
election
felt

Frémont withdrew from the contest, not out of love for Lincoln, but to do what he could to prevent the election of McClellan. Chase, who had been disappointed in the nomination, and who had held aloof until now, took the stump and did good work for the Union candidate. The radical portion of the party returned to their allegiance. On the 2d of October, Chase wrote to General Sherman, "There is not now the slightest uncertainty about the re-election of Mr. Lincoln. The only question is by what popular and what electoral majority."

The Presidential election took place on the 8th of November. McClellan carried only three States,—Delaware, New Jersey, and Kentucky, with twenty-one electoral votes. Lincoln carried

all the rest, 212 votes. His popular majority was nearly half a million over McClellan.

1864

On the 6th of December, 1864, the thirty-eighth Congress assembled in its second session. Its most important event was the passage of the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery and forever prohibiting it throughout the United States. This, known as the Thirteenth Amendment, passed the Senate in April, 1864, by the necessary two-thirds majority. In June, when it reached a vote in the House of Representatives, ninety-three members voted affirmatively and sixty-six in the negative. The requisite number for its passage was lacking, and the subject remained under discussion in the country at large until the next session, when it was brought up for reconsideration. Many Democrats, in view of the result of the late Presidential election, had decided to change their votes; and on the last day of January, 1865, the amendment was adopted amid applause, cheers, and demonstrations of enthusiasm, which were continued for several minutes both on the floor and in the galleries. The House was then adjourned "in honor of this immortal and sublime event." Cannon were fired and bells rung. An immense crowd gathered about the White House and called upon the President for a speech. On the next day, February 1, the State of Illinois ratified the amendment. Rhode Island and Michigan followed the day after, Maryland and West Virginia on the 3d, and by the 1st of March seventeen States had voted for emancipation. It was not until December

Thirteenth
Amend-
ment in-
troduced

Adopted

States
ratify

1865 18, however, that three-fourths of the States, the constitutional number, several of them being re-constructed Southern governments, signified their approval. The amendment read as follows:
Text of “Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except
amend- as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall
ment have been duly convicted, shall exist within the
 United States or any place subject to their
 jurisdiction.”

CHAPTER C.

AT THE CONFEDERATE CAPITAL

It was a far cry from the ideal of State sovereignty at Charleston in November, 1860, to the military despotism at Richmond in July, 1863. When the States first withdrew from the Union, it was with the idea of more perfect liberty. While they were to act together for the general good, they were yet to be free to act separately and for themselves; each was to be the arbiter of its own destiny. But it was very soon found that such a condition of things would be impossible. Hardly had they shaken off their allegiance, when differences of opinion arose as to their reciprocal relations and duties. It became evident that to attain the objects aimed at, there must be a central power,—a single governing head. Hence the Montgomery convention and the formation of the Confederacy. When Virginia seceded, there was a strong feeling among some of the leaders that it would be good policy to obliterate State lines altogether, and merge all the South into one indivisible empire. This idea met with so strong opposition that it was not pressed. The States that went out of the Union with flying banners and the cry of “States’ rights!” soon found that the States had no rights except such as were

1860-3

Gradual
change of
opinion
concern-
ing
State
sover-
eignty

1863

granted by the central government. They found themselves under a military yoke from which there was no escape until the war was over.

Subjuga-
tion of
Arkansas

The bitter disappointment was voiced by the governor of Arkansas in an inaugural address in 1863, in which he said: "Arkansas severed her connection with the United States upon the doctrine of State sovereignty. She has lavished her blood in support of the Confederacy. She did this because she believed that when the evil should come upon her, the Confederate flag would be found floating upon her battlements, defying the invader and giving succor to her people. Arkansas, lost, abandoned, subjugated, is not that Arkansas who entered the Confederacy, nor will she remain Arkansas, a Confederate State, as desolate as a wilderness. It was for liberty she struck, and not for subordination to any created secondary power, North or South."

Arbi-
trary
attitude
of Con-
federate
Congress

The Confederate Congress did not dare to trust its own people. Its meetings were mostly held in secret session, and little was divulged. Legislation was sometimes carried through which would never have been sustained by public opinion. It constituted itself a "committee of public safety," and with far more thoroughness than its Northern fellow made it a chief task to abolish neutrality and prevent back-fires. It ordered the banishment of all aliens who might be regarded as enemies, and the confiscation of their property. Every male thus liable to banishment, if over fourteen years of age, was required to leave the Confederacy

within forty days; on failing to do so he was to be imprisoned, and removed by force; if he returned, he was to be dealt with as a spy or prisoner of war. The severest measures were taken for the discovery of property of aliens. Any citizen of the Confederacy who knew of such property, and did not voluntarily lay information concerning it, was to be held guilty of a misdemeanor, to be fined not more than \$5000, imprisoned not more than six months, and be liable to pay double the value of the property in question. The Congress had previously defined aliens as all citizens of the United States who declared allegiance to it and acknowledged the authority of its government.

1861-2

Defini-
tion of
aliens

There were two Confederate Congresses: the first the Provisional of 1861, the second the Permanent Congress of 1862. The first was composed of delegates sent by State conventions, under the supposition that the war would be very short. It was to devise a permanent system for the South only after the war was over; but other affairs were so pressing in February, 1862, that there was no time to attend to such matters, "so," says Pollard, "Davis ascended from being the provisional chief of a rebellion to the office of President of the Confederacy without question." The Provisional Congress was in fact a revolutionary council. All the heads of executive departments had seats in it. Its principal members were politicians, who led the first movements of secession, such as Toombs, Wigfall, Prior, and Keitt. Military men were excluded.

Make-up
of Pro-
visional
Congress

1862

Alterca-
tions
in the
Senate

When McClellan appeared on the peninsula in 1862, the members fled in a body from Richmond. With the slender resources of the Confederacy not replenished from outside on account of the blockade, the public credit could not have been sustained in any event; but the Legislature of the Confederacy was charged by the public with having destroyed it, and it was covered with opprobrium. Nor did it maintain the dignity proper to a sovereign body. The Senate was the scene of frequent altercations. On one occasion a member enforced his argument by attacking his opponent with a bowie-knife. At another time Senator Yancey, one of the earliest promoters of secession, was attacked, dragged across his desk, his face pummeled, and his spine so injured that he later died from the effects of his injuries. Another Senator was cowhided by another in his seat.

Great
advance
in value
of neces-
sities

The wealth of the South before the war consisted, not of money, but of land and slaves. In time of peace both these were convertible into money; now they had no cash value. As a result of existing conditions, articles of necessity had risen in some instances to a hundred times their former value. The country people had no faith in paper money. There was great danger that the army could not be held together for want of supplies. These, therefore, were seized by the government whenever needed, and were paid for in Confederate money. The owners of slaves refused to hire them to the government, and there was a continual protest against the heavy taxes

laid upon property. In December, 1861, gold stood at 120; in 1862, at 300; and in 1863, the time of which we are writing, 1900—that is, the paper had no value save a speculative one. At the close of the war the premium was nominally 6000.

1861-3

The Confederate Congress in 1862 had authorized the President to call into the military service all males between 18 and 45, except exempts. In that year all between 18 and 35 were called out. At the close of that year the Confederate army reached its greatest strength. Subsequent calls were made to fill up the ranks, occasioned by desertion, straggling, and losses in battle. In many parts of the Confederacy, conscripts fled to the mountains and swamps to escape being drawn into the army. The official records show that in more than one instance in Tennessee and Kentucky, dogs were employed to trace out these fugitives. A Southern author, in his reminiscences of the war, says that in western Virginia he saw two conscripts chained together and driven to Lee's army. The same author says:

Efforts to
reinforce
Confeder-
ate army

“The higher class is staying at home making money, the lower is thrust into the trenches. Lee complains that the rich young men are elected magistrates to avoid service in the field. Guards everywhere in the city are arresting pedestrians and forcing them into the army. The militia are all out, except those hidden in the back rooms of their shops. It is reported that of the citizens taken from the streets to the front last week, the majority have deserted. That despotic order is the theme of universal execration. General Preston, of the Bureau of Conscription, says there are now 100,000 deserters. The books of the office show a frightful list of deserters, 60,000 Virginians. The poor men in the

Preva-
lence of
desertion

1861-2

army can get nothing for their families, and there is a prospect of their starving. I saw a captain commissary give his dog a piece of beef for which I would have paid a dollar. Many children of soldiers were standing by with empty baskets."

Great
scarcity
of even
common-
est ne-
cessities

During the first year of the war there was little change in the manner of living in the Southern States, but as time went on privations began to be felt. Luxuries one by one were given up, and, following, many of the necessities of life. Tea and coffee disappeared from the tables of even the well-to-do, and came at last to be used solely as medicine. There were innumerable substitutes, among them parched corn, peanuts, chickory, and chestnuts, which, roasted and ground, took the place of coffee; while for tea, resort was had to various kinds of dried leaves and roots. There was no ice to be had in the summer, and hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers died from its lack. In some places it was sold only on a physician's certificate. There was also a great scarcity of salt. In some places the earthen floors of smoke-houses, saturated by the dripping of bacon, were dug up and boiled to extract the salty material. Common medicines were lacking, and many ingenious plans were resorted to to smuggle them through the lines. There was also a great need of clothing and blankets. In hundreds of houses carpets were cut up and lined with cotton to be used for that purpose. In Alabama the Legislature ordered the carpets in the State House to be cut up to make blankets for the soldiers.

As, owing to the blockade, material could not be brought into the country, homespun clothing began to be made. All sorts of substitutes were employed for articles which had become scarce. Sandals and moccasins made from rawhide were in common use, and in the city of Raleigh a factory was built which turned out daily about one hundred pairs of wooden shoes. All sorts of domestic implements and utensils were scarce. The gas supplies were spasmodically shut off for lack of coal. Newspapers for some time were printed on half-sheets and upon all kinds of paper. Writing-paper was almost impossible to get, and wrapping-paper was often used instead. These conditions obtained mostly in the larger cities, and especially in Richmond. The wealthier people, though pinched, managed to live in fairly good style; but the ordinary business men, clerks, and mechanics had difficulty in getting enough to eat and wear.

The scarcity, of course, gave opportunity to speculators in food stuffs, who, as in the Revolution, were credited with causing it. The people and newspapers declared that the people were swindled by heartless extortioners, who were "worse than Yankees or Jews." Jefferson Davis, in a speech, denounced "the attempt of groveling speculators to forestall the market and make money out of the blood of our defenders." In some of the cities, riots of women against these extortioners broke out, and stores and provision shops were raided and bread and flour carried away. In Richmond the conditions were especially bad, and there was

1861-2

Substi-
tutes for
articles
no longer
obtain-
able

Specula-
tors take
advan-
tage of
the
situation

1863

a great deal of suffering on account of the lack of food.

Bread
riots in
Rich-
mond

On the 2d of April, 1863, a crowd of several hundred women and children gathered in Capitol Square, saying they were starving and must have bread. They were soon joined by others and by men as well. They marched to the quarter where most of the provision stores were located, broke in the doors, and carried away quantities of meal, flour, bacon, and articles of apparel. As the excitement increased, they were joined by the lower and criminal classes, the mob reaching five or six thousand persons at last. From the provision stores they turned to those containing shoes, clothing, fancy articles, and jewelry. It was finally necessary to call out the troops. The mayor read the riot act, and five minutes were given to the mob to disperse under threat of ordering the soldiers to fire. Two days later a like gathering was made in the streets, and food demanded. The mob was dispersed, as before, by the soldiers. On the 6th the mayor informed Longstreet that no soldiers should be withdrawn from the city, owing to the continually threatened riots.

Some
specimen
prices

The prices of the necessities of life grew enormously. Gas was \$50 a thousand feet. In 1864 flour was \$400 a barrel. A Southern writer gives an account of a Christmas dinner given at Richmond in that year. He says that flour was then worth \$600 a barrel, sugar \$30 a pound, butter \$40 a pound, and beef \$35 to \$40 a pound. Wood sold at \$100 a cord, and coal could not be had at

all. The dinner party consisted of three ladies and four gentlemen. The ladies were dressed in homespun garments.

1863

“At the head of the table,” he says, “was placed a large ham, worth \$300. At the foot was the last turkey the farm could boast, worth \$175. The vegetables consisted of cabbages, potatoes, and hominy, worth, at a reasonable calculation, \$100. Corn bread was served, flour having been unknown in the house for months. The meal of which it was made was worth \$8 a bushel, and the salt that seasoned it, \$1 a pound. There was no dessert, and in its place the hostess provided a coarse black molasses worth \$60 a gallon. The same kind lady, as a rare treat for her guests, brought out, with a glow of pride, a steaming urn of real tea, not sassafras, worth \$100 a pound; at the same time warning the company that they must expect but one cup apiece, as this was the last of her store. After this there was coffee made up from sweet potatoes cut up in little bits, toasted brown, and ground to powder. From this superb repast the scale descended to army rations, a bit of salt pork, corn bread and sweet potatoes, coffee without sugar.”

A costly
war
dinner

Hundreds of Southern women, who had never before been accustomed to the slightest physical exertion, now did plain sewing, copying, or any kind of clerical work that could be obtained in a government office, to gain enough on which to live. No work was allowed to women in the government departments unless they would declare that they were in want. Hundreds of people, who, before the war, had been in the receipt of large salaries, now eagerly accepted situations.

Strait-
ened con-
dition of
women

Disaffection in the councils of the State led to changes in the Cabinet. It was clear that the military strength of the South was being rapidly exhausted. President Davis, in a message, called

1864

Proposal
of Davis
to arm
the
negroes

attention to the question of the employment of slaves as soldiers. The Secretary of War, Mr. Seddon, had also referred to the subject in his report. On the 10th of November, 1864, the matter was brought before the Confederate Congress. The proposition of Davis to put 40,000 negroes into the field aroused intense opposition. Notwithstanding, three months later, at the urgent request of General Lee, measures were taken for the organization of negro regiments. Secretary Hunter of Virginia made a powerful speech against the measure, which was under discussion before the Legislature, and said: "If we are right in passing this measure, we were wrong in denying to the old government the right of interfering with the institution of slavery and to emancipate slaves. Besides, if we offer slaves their freedom as a boon, we confess that we were insincere, hypocritical, in insisting that slavery was the best state for the negroes themselves." He declared further that to arm and emancipate the slaves was to abandon the grounds on which the struggle had been undertaken. "If this be so," he added, "who is to answer for the hundreds of thousands of men who have been slain during the war? Who is to answer for them before the bar of heaven? Not those who entered into the contest upon principle, but those who have abandoned that principle."

Meets
strong
oppo-
sition

Nor was the discussion of this movement confined to Congress. It was taken up by the press, some of the more prominent newspapers urging the adoption of the measure. Opposition to it on

the part of others was bitter. Nevertheless, the bill to employ slaves as soldiers passed the lower house of the Confederate Congress in the spring of 1865, but was lost in the Senate by a single vote. Thereupon, the Legislature of Virginia instructed her Senators to vote for it. It was amended to read that not more than 25 per cent. of the male slaves between the ages of 18 and 45 in any State should be called for under the provisions of the act. With that amendment the bill was passed.

1865

Final
passage
of bill to
that
effect

It was plain now, not only to the politicians at Richmond, but to the leaders of the Confederate armies, that the contest was drawing to an end. In January, 1865, there was a renewal of the demands for peace. In that month Francis P. Blair, Sr., after conversation with Lincoln, obtained a pass through the lines of the Union army to go to Richmond and return. Blair and Davis were old personal friends, and an interview between the two was easily brought about. The President was careful not to endow him with any authority, or even to express an approval of his mission. Blair suggested to Davis that some indirect way out of the situation might be found; that a secret armistice should be made, and that Northern and Southern soldiers alike should be sent to Mexico to form an alliance with Juarez, drive out Maximilian, and bring Mexico into the Union, and after that our possessions might be rounded by their extension to the Isthmus.

Renewed
efforts to
bring
about
peace

Davis, in reply, fell in with the proposed scheme; and the result of the interview was a letter

1865

to Blair, which was to be shown to President Lincoln. In this letter he said: "I am willing now, as heretofore, to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace. That, notwithstanding the rejection of our former offers, I would, if you could promise that a commissioner, minister, or other agent would be received, find one immediately, and renew the effort to enter into conference with the view to secure peace to the two countries."

Attitude
of Mr.
Lincoln

When this communication was submitted to Lincoln, he said: "You may say to Mr. Davis that I have constantly been, am now, and shall continue, ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me, with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country."

The
Hampton
Roads
confer-
ence

Out of this grew the famous Hampton Roads conference: A. H. Stephens, the Confederate Vice-President, Senator Hunter, and Mr. Campbell, representing the Confederacy, and President Lincoln and Mr. Seward, the United States government. The situation was exhaustively discussed. On the Confederate side it was suggested that the question of separation might be postponed, and the two sides could enter jointly on some scheme of extrinsic policy, such as that mentioned in Blair's letter, during which present animosities might subside and under new conditions the way to peace might be found. The President refused to consider any indirect project whatever. His conditions were the same as at first.

After the Confederate commissioners returned to Richmond, a public meeting was held, at which it was resolved that the terms offered by President Lincoln were an insult to the South, and that the Confederates would never lay down their arms until they had gained their independence.

1865

Davis was disappointed at the result of the conference. He was tired of the war, and realized the too probable end; but his indomitable spirit did not fail him. At the meeting held after their return he delivered an impassioned speech, in which he said: "Mr. Lincoln spoke of a common country. I can have no common country with the Yankees. My life is bound up with the Confederacy; and if any man supposes that under any circumstances I can be an agent of the reconstruction of the Union, he mistakes every element of my nature. With the Confederacy I will live or die. Thank God, I represent a people too proud to eat the leek or bow the neck to mortal man." His words had little effect in stimulating the war feeling, which was rapidly decreasing under the pressure of want, disease, and defeat.

Davis'
passion-
ate ex-
pression

On the 8th of February, General Lee wrote to the Secretary of War that his men were freezing and starving. "If some change is not made and the Commissary Department reorganized, I apprehend dire results. The physical strength of the men, if their courage revives, must fail under this treatment. Taken in connection with the paucity of our numbers, you must not be surprised if calamity befalls us."

Lee's
note of
warning

1865

Southern
demands
for peace

On February 24, he called attention to the alarming number of desertions, which were chiefly from the North Carolina regiments, although there were many from South Carolina and other States. The leading paper in Raleigh, North Carolina, declared for immediate peace. "This," it said, "is the people's war; and we are satisfied from our intercourse with them that an immense majority are for stopping it." It was officially estimated that there were 100,000 deserters scattered over the Confederacy. Some of the leading members of the Confederate government urged President Davis to treat with the Union government, with the idea that better terms could be secured than if the Confederates were forced to a surrender. General Lee urged that the Senate should pass resolutions requesting Davis to negotiate for peace, but the latter gave no encouragement to the idea. Lee frankly declared to Hunter that the South no longer had a chance of winning.

President
Lincoln
firm in
his
position

In February, Lee proposed that Grant should meet him for an interchange of views on the subject, which might lead to some satisfactory adjustment. Grant immediately turned the proposition over to the President and asked for instructions, receiving this reply through Stanton: "The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee unless it be for the capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor and purely military matter. He instructs me to say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political question.

Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions."

1865

A copy of this dispatch was sent to Lee, which ended any future effort on his part to shorten the war. A few days later a committee from the Confederate Senate, consisting of Senators Graham, Hunter, and Orr, went to see Davis to induce him to begin negotiations on the basis of abandoning Southern independence. Davis refused to consider the matter. On the 5th of March, Judge Campbell, Confederate Assistant Secretary of War, made an exhaustive report of the situation to Mr. Davis. In it he said: "Desertions have been frequent during the whole season, and the *morale* of the army is somewhat impaired. It sees everywhere disaster and defeat, and that their toils and sufferings have been unproductive. The political condition is not more favorable. Georgia is in a state that may properly be called insurrectionary against the Confederate authorities. North Carolina is divided. With the evacuation of Richmond the State of Virginia must be abandoned. The South may succumb, but it is not necessary that she should be destroyed. I do not regard reconstruction as involving destruction."

Davis
will not
abandon
idea of
inde-
pendence

But Davis firmly set his face against any negotiations; and on March 13 sent a message to his Congress, in which he said, "There remains for us no choice but to continue the contest to a final issue." Before adjournment the Richmond Congress issued an appeal to the people which said:

And
would
continue
war

1865

Appeal of
Rich-
mond
Congress
to the
people

“Our absolute surrender and submission to the will of the conqueror are the only conditions vouchsafed by our arrogant foe. Not only would the property and estates of vanquished rebels be confiscated, but they would be divided and distributed among our arrogant bondsmen. Failure will make us the vassals of an arrogant people.”

Hope of
English
sym-
pathy
vanishes

The hope of enlisting the active sympathy of Great Britain had now completely died out. In April, 1864, Lord Lyons had addressed Mr. Davis a remonstrance on the part of her Majesty's government against the efforts of the authorities of “the so-called Confederate States” to build war vessels within her Majesty's dominion, to be employed against the government of the United States. In reply the Confederate Secretary of War said: “It would be inconsistent with the dignity of the position which Mr. Davis fills, as chief magistrate of a nation comprising a population of more than 12,000,000, occupying a territory many times larger than the United Kingdom, and possessing resources unsurpassed by those of any other country on the face of the globe, to allow the attempt of Earl Russell to ignore the actual existence of the Confederate States, and contumeliously style them ‘so-called,’ to pass without a protest and a remonstrance. The President, therefore, does protest and remonstrate against this deliberate insult, and he instructs me to say that in future any document in which it may be repeated will be returned unanswered and unnoticed.”

CHAPTER CI.

FROM THE WILDERNESS TO CEDAR CREEK

On the 9th of March, 1864, General Grant was made Lieutenant-General of the armies of the United States. On the day following, he visited General Meade and announced his intention of making his headquarters with that army; leaving, as far as possible, General Meade in independent command of the Army of the Potomac. He instructed Meade that henceforth Lee's army would be his objective; that General Butler, in command of the Army of the James, would move against Richmond by the south bank of the James on the same day that the Army of the Potomac moved against Lee; and that if Lee fell back upon Richmond, the two armies would form a junction on the James, probably above the city. A direct movement against Lee in a field so distant from Richmond as the Rapidan, where he was encamped, would give opportunities of flanking operations by the whole army, and would in the mean time completely cover Washington.

On May 1, the grand aggregate of officers and enlisted men of the infantry branch was 73,390, with 224 guns. The forward movement of the Army of the Potomac began at midnight on the 3d of May. Simultaneously with the movement

1864

Grant
becomes
lieu-
tenant-
general

His
instruc-
tions to
Meade

1864
May

A new
plan of
campaign

against Lee's army, Grant had prepared a plan of campaign under Sherman against that of Johnston in Georgia. If these two armies could be destroyed, it was clear that the war must end. Up to that time there had been too many minor expeditions, and attacks in force had been made at different times, so that the enemy could send troops from one to the other, reinforcing weaker points by withdrawing from the stronger. Sherman was ordered to move against Johnston and destroy his army if possible.

When Grant moved upon Lee the latter had about 65,000 men, mostly veterans, who were divided into three corps under the command of Ewell, Hill, and Longstreet. These were strongly fortified in a position which extended twenty miles along the south bank of the Rapidan. Grant determined to make a crossing by the lower fords of that river. His army had been formed into three corps, which were under the command respectively of Hancock, Warren, and Sedgwick. A fourth corps, under Burnside, was acting independently of Meade. The cavalry, which formed a fifth corps, was under the command of Sheridan, the whole force now numbering 140,000 men. On the night of May 4, the river was crossed without opposition, Grant and Meade making their headquarters at the Old Wilderness Tavern. It was Grant's intention to leave the Wilderness the following day and get between Lee and Richmond. Lee, who fathomed his intentions, determined to make an attack before he could move. On the

Grant's
move-
ment
toward
Rich-
mond



ULYSSES S. GRANT.

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morning of May 5, Ewell flung himself upon Warren's flank and forced him back. Sedgwick and Hancock at once went to his assistance, and a battle raged all day, until it was too dark to continue the contest. Each side at once began to fortify. The next morning Hancock was in front of Hill, with Burnside and Warren near him. The woods were so thick that cavalry were of no use, and it was almost impossible to handle artillery. The fighting was wholly done by infantry. Lee opened the attack in the morning as soon as it was light, the real assault being on Grant's left.

At the beginning, Hill was driven back a mile and a half. At this point, when defeat seemed certain for the Confederates, Longstreet came up, the retreating troops were rallied, and a charge was made to recover the lost ground. The Union line was forced back, and General Wadsworth was killed. While this was taking place, Longstreet rode to the front with his staff, and was fired upon by his own men, who took the group to be Union cavalry. He received a bullet through the neck and shoulder, and General Jenkins was killed. On Grant's right an attack was made just before dark, and 3000 men taken prisoners. So far the two-days' battle had been a drawn one. The next day there was no fighting, the two armies gathering in their wounded and burying the dead.

Grant, in entering upon his great campaign, in the first days of May, 1864, had had to do so against the greatest disadvantages. The country south of the Rappahannock was against him. The

1864
May 5-6

Lee
attacks

Two-
days'
conflict
inde-
cisive

1864
May

Difficul-
ties in
Grant's
way

fact of Lee's acting ever on the defensive was against him. The woods and the rivers were against him. All Virginia, from the Rapidan to Richmond, was a rifle-pit and an earthwork. The Confederates knew every hill and ravine as though they were the orchard and the fishing-creek of their own homes. The battlefield was theirs, to begin with; it must be taken from them or remain theirs forever. To take a battlefield of their own from Virginians has never been a pleasing task to those who did it—or more frequently tried to do it and did not!

Stubborn
fighting

And
heavy
losses

It remained for Grant and the Union army to undertake this herculean task. He moved into the Wilderness, and had just fought a two-days' battle of the greatest severity. The contests of the 5th and 6th of May were murderous in character. The Federal losses in these two days, in killed, wounded, and missing, were not less than 14,000; those of the Confederates were almost as great. In this struggle, General Alexander Hays was killed; Generals Getty, Baxter, and McAlister were wounded; and scores of under-officers, with thousands of brave men, lost their lives or limbs. Now it was that Lee is reported to have said to his officers, with a serious look on his iron face, "Gentlemen, at last the Army of the Potomac has a head."

On the 7th of May, there was not much fighting. It is said that in the lull Grant's leading commanders thought he would recede, as his predecessors had done, and that not a few of them gave

it as their opinion that he should do so. It is said that when coming to the Chancellorsville House, he gave the command, "Forward, by the left flank,"—thus demonstrating his purpose, as he said four days afterwards in his despatch to the government, "to fight it out on that line if it took all summer,"—the soldiers gave a sigh of relief, and many began to sing at the prospect of no more retreating. General Sherman has recorded his belief that at this juncture Grant best displayed his greatness.

1864
May 8

Grant
shows his
mettle

To the Confederates, again successful on their own soil, it seemed that the old Union program of retreat must follow; even Lee thought for a time that Grant's movement was toward Fredericksburg. But Lee was now too careful to trust to a single hypothesis, and while he extended his right against the former movement he ordered Longstreet's corps under Anderson to Spottsylvania.

Long-
street
first at
Spott-
sylvania

With the movement which we have just mentioned, the next stage in the campaign would bring both the Union and the Confederate armies to Spottsylvania Court-House. The distance that each had to march to that point was about the same. It was at this juncture that the woods in which the two armies were moving, Grant to the left and Lee to the right, took fire and were burned. When the Union advance came in sight of Spottsylvania, Warren, who commanded, found that the place had been already occupied by the vigilant enemy. Hancock did not arrive in time to make an immediate attack, and Longstreet's corps was able to

1864
May 9

get into position before the pressure of the Union advance could be felt.

In front
of Spott-
sylvania

The main divisions of the Union army came into position before Spottsylvania. Hancock had the right wing, and upon his left rested Warren. Sedgwick's corps was next in order, while Burnside held the left. Just as the commanders were forming their lines, and some men at a Union battery seemed to shrink from the Confederate sharpshooters, Sedgwick went forward to encourage them, saying, "Men, they couldn't hit an elephant at that distance." But the next instant, he himself fell dead! His command of the Sixth Corps was transferred to General Wright.

Two
attacks
and
repulses

It now remained for Hancock on the extreme right to attack the Confederate left. This was done by Barlow's division, but without success. This attack and repulse was the real beginning of the battle of Spottsylvania. The Confederates in front were strongly intrenched, but near the northernmost point of their works what was thought to be a weak point in the line was discovered. This point was what is known as a *salient*. The position, however, was in the thick woods, or was at any rate concealed by the woods and ravines in front. As soon as the position was discovered and its nature known, a large part of Wright's corps was sent against it. The attack was successful; the line was carried, and about a thousand men captured in the assault. But the reinforcements were not up promptly, and the assailants were driven back. A second assault ended in the

same way. This fighting was on the evening of the 10th of May. The battle continued into the night, and the event hung dubious.

1864
May 12

On the 11th there was a heavy rain; but during that day General Grant, who placed great confidence in General Hancock and his corps, moved that brilliant officer to the point of attack before the salient. With the early light on the morning of the 12th, Hancock sprang forward to the assault. So sudden and powerful was the charge that one-half the distance had been traversed before the enemy knew what was coming. Then the storm burst wildly. The yell arose from one side, and the cheer from the other. Hancock's men in great force and with invincible courage sprang upon the breastworks, clubbed their guns, or went over bayonet foremost. They were met on the other side in like manner. The *mêlée* that ensued was perhaps the most dreadful hand-to-hand conflict of the war. The impetus of the Union attack was irresistible. Great numbers were killed on both sides, and the Confederates were overpowered. General Edward Johnson and his division of about four thousand men were captured in the angle. General Stuart was also taken. He and Hancock had been friends in their student days at West Point. The story goes that Hancock, recognizing his prisoner, said, "How are you, Stuart?" and offered his hand. The hot Confederate answered, "I am *General* Stuart of the Confederate army, and, under the circumstances, I decline to take your hand." Hancock quietly answered, "Under

Hancock
moves
upon the
Confed-
erates

And over-
powers
them

1864
May 12

any other circumstances, I surely should not have offered it!"

The
daunt-
less
Hancock

But there was no time for bantering. The very earth round about was in the chaos of roaring battle. Hancock had taken twenty guns with their horses, and about thirty battle-flags. It was a tremendous capture, if he could hold his ground. No officer of the Union army ever showed to better advantage. The world may well forgive the touch of bluster in the undaunted Hancock, as he sent this dispatch to Grant: "I have used up Johnson and am going into Hill." He found, however, that he should have terrible work even to keep the gain that he had made. Lee no sooner perceived what was done, than he threw heavy masses upon the position to retake it from the captors. Hancock was now on the wrong side of the angle. The Confederates came on during the day in five successive charges, the like of which for valor was hardly ever witnessed. The contested ground was literally piled with dead. There was hand-to-hand fighting. Men bayoneted each other through the crevices of the logs that had been piled up for defenses. The storm of battle swept back and forth, until the salient gained that name of "Death Angle" by which it will ever be known. The place became then and there the bloodiest spot that ever was washed with human life in America. The bushes and trees round about were literally shot away. At one point an oak-tree, more than eighteen inches in diameter, was completely eaten off at the man-level by the bullet storm that beat against

Terrible
fighting
in the
"Death
Angle"

it. That tree in its fall crushed several men of a South Carolina regiment who still stood and fought in the death harvest that was going on.

1864
May 12

The counter assaults of the Confederates, however, were in vain. They inflicted terrible losses, and were themselves mowed down by thousands; but they could not and did not retake the angle. Hancock and his heroes could not be dislodged. The battle of Spottsylvania died away with the night into sullen and awful silence, which was broken only by the groans of thousands of wounded men who could not be recovered from the bloody earth on which they had fallen. The antagonists lay crouching like lions, only a lion's spring apart, and neither would suffer the other, even for the sake of their common American humanity, to recover his dead. In the retrospect it seems marvelous that within the memories of men now living and not yet old, so awful a struggle as that of the Death Angle in the Wilderness could have taken place between men of the same race and language, born under the flag of the same republic, and cherishing the same sentiments and traditions and hopes.

An awful
night of
suffering

On the first day of the battle of Spottsylvania, Grant gave Sheridan orders to start on an independent expedition toward Richmond. The command was stripped of all impedimenta. Three-days' rations and a half-day's forage, carried on the saddle, comprised the outfit. On the 9th of May, Sheridan started at the head of 10,000 cavalry on the Richmond road, but not to make any

"On to
Rich-
mond"

1864
May

Sheri-
dan's
rapid
dash
upon the
Confed-
erate
capital

attempt at its capture. His objective point was Stuart's division of cavalry, which he had sworn to Grant to find and whip. Two hours after his start he intercepted two long trains of cars, loaded with Union prisoners taken in the battle of the day before, who were being taken to Richmond. These were liberated and provided with arms, the cars burned, the track torn up, and the telegraph wires cut. On the 11th the head of the column reached within six miles of Richmond, where it encountered Stuart's skirmishers and fighting immediately began. A little later Stuart fell, shot through the body, dying a few hours later. The Confederates, who were largely outnumbered, then retreated. This success inspired Sheridan to a daring attack upon the defenses of Richmond. He succeeded in passing the first line and took a hundred prisoners. His force was not strong enough, however, to pass the second; and he turned, fighting his way back to Grant, whom he reached May 25.

Lee in-
trenched
upon the
Chicka-
hominy

Grant and Lee now started on a race for Richmond; Lee's army as usual reaching the objective point first. When Grant reached the Chickahominy, Lee was there before him, and so strongly intrenched that a front attack was impossible. Grant now determined to flank Lee's right by the way of Cold Harbor and cross the Chickahominy. On the 31st of May, Sheridan made a dash upon Cold Harbor, capturing it after a sharp fight. Early the next day reinforcements arrived, and at four o'clock in the afternoon of June 1 the

Union troops made an attack, capturing the first line of the works and taking 600 prisoners. At the second line of attack they were compelled to fall back.

1864
June 1-3

On the 3d of June, a terrific battle was fought, the bloodiest of the campaign, and utterly without results. A charge was ordered upon the Confederate works by the Second, Sixth, and Eighteenth Corps, commanded respectively by Hancock, Wright, and W. F. Smith, which went forward under a terrible fire in front and flank. The time of actual advance was less than eight minutes, and in that time more men fell than in any other like period of time during the war. Seven colonels of Hancock's command died in those few minutes, and in all 4000 rank and file were in that same time killed or wounded. It was evident that the works were too strong to carry. Earthworks were now thrown up and trenches dug in preparation for a regular siege. Two weeks were spent in these preparations, when Grant changed his mind and decided to move his army to the south side of the James.

A fruit-
less
attack

And
change of
base

A rapid march was made in the hot sun over sandy roads, and on the morning of the 15th the army had reached the banks of the river, having marched fifty-five miles in two days. It had been largely reinforced, and now consisted of 130,000 men. A pontoon bridge, nearly 3600 feet long and wide enough for twelve men to pass abreast, had been constructed, over which the men crossed. Up to this time Lee had been ignorant of Grant's

Rapid
marching

1864
June

Union
losses
very
great

intentions. It was now clear to him that the campaign had resolved itself into a siege of Richmond. Grant's losses up to this time had been enormous. From the 5th of May to the 13th of June he had lost nearly 55,000 men, of whom 7000 were killed and 38,000 wounded, the rest prisoners and missing. Lee's losses in the same time had been about 32,000. When Lee now entered Richmond he had 70,000 men in his ranks; while Grant, including Butler's forces, had over twice that number.

Grant's
plan of
opera-
tions

Grant's plan was not to attempt to carry Richmond by direct assault, but to force Lee out of his works into the country by cutting his supplying railroads, and at the same time to weaken his army by attacking alternately on its right and left. Grant's base of supplies was established at City Point, where ammunition and stores necessary for an army of 100,000 men had accumulated.

Peters-
burg
to be
secured

The first step of the campaign was to secure, if possible, the occupation of Petersburg, twenty-two miles south of Richmond, and not quite half that distance from City Point. Petersburg was the converging point of five railroads, three of which offered communication with Richmond; with its capture these lines would at once be cut. Its possession, too, would lead to the turning of Beauregard's entrenchments in front of Butler and an advance towards Richmond. In that event Richmond would have to be abandoned, and the Army of Northern Virginia would be obliged to retreat towards Danville or Lynchburg. On June



APPOMATTOX RIVER AT CITY POINT.



GRANT'S HEADQUARTERS AT CITY POINT.

14, Petersburg was attacked. Part of the defenses were taken, with several guns and prisoners, but the main works defied assault. The garrison was at once strongly reinforced, new works were built, and new guns mounted. In four days Grant lost 10,000 men in the attacks upon the works, and was at last obliged to institute a siege which lasted for ten months.

1864
June

Siege in-
stituted

In the latter part of June the men of Burnside's corps in front of Petersburg dug a mine under the intrenchments, at the end of which were placed 8000 pounds of gunpowder with fuses extending through the gallery for its explosion. The plan was to explode the mine at half-past three on the morning of June 30, and, taking advantage of the panic of the garrison, send one of Burnside's divisions through the breach and take possession. The first part of the plan was successfully carried out.

Digging
of a great
mine

When the mine was sprung an immense amount of earth rose in the air, carrying with it men, guns, timber, and hundreds of muskets. The "crater" or cavity caused by the explosion was 130 yards distant from the Union lines; and the charging column was obliged to first climb over the breastworks, which broke their ranks, and then to get over as best they could the abatis and chevaux de frise in front of the enemy's works. The crater was an enormous hole 30 feet deep, 60 feet wide, and 170 feet long, filled with all sorts of débris, rocks, irregular blocks of earth and clay, broken gun-carriages, dead men, wounded

And
result of
springing
it

1864
June

Union
troops in
the
crater

men, and men, dead and alive, half buried in the ruins of the works. To charge beyond the crater it was necessary to descend into the hole and climb up the opposite side, which was almost precipitous. The works on the right and left were fully manned; and the occupants quickly rallied and poured a hot musketry fire into the backs of the attacking force as it passed them. The Union troops, who had succeeded in reaching the opposite side, now fell back into the crater for protection.

And
suffer
heavy
losses

At 9:30 General Meade gave positive orders to have them withdrawn. This, however, could not be done. Burnside was in favor of leaving them there until night. The day was intensely hot, and there was no means of getting food or water to them. About noon a charge was made by the Confederate troops, who poured into the crater, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued. Resistance was in vain. Many of the Union troops succeeded in gaining their own works, but the losses were heavy. The Ninth Corps had fifty-two officers and 376 men killed, 105 officers and 1556 men wounded, eighty-seven officers and 1652 men captured. The Confederate loss was less than a thousand.

A blun-
dering
affair

The whole affair was a series of blunders. With one exception, there was not a division commander in the crater or connecting lines, nor a corps commander on the scene of action. The subordinate commanders, who did not lack personal bravery, were not empowered to change the plan of action, when it was evident at the very beginning that such a change should be made. The responsibility



THE GRASS GROWN CRATER AT PETERSBURG.



INSIDE THE UNION INTRENCHMENTS, PETERSBURG.

of the failure rested upon General Burnside, who was bitterly criticised for his conduct at the time. Two weeks later he was granted leave of absence, and General John G. Parke was assigned to the command of the Ninth Corps. Burnside resigned April 13, 1865. At no point had his career justified his command, and at more than one it was connected with some of the most dreadful disasters of the war.

1864
July-
Aug.

Burnside
resigns

During July and August Grant was busy in strengthening his works along the whole line from Petersburg to Richmond. Learning that Lee had sent three of his divisions from Petersburg up the valley to reinforce Early, he determined upon a demonstration upon Richmond from the north. Hancock's corps was assigned for that duty, and the movement was made on the night of August 12. Six pieces of artillery were captured, and several hundred prisoners taken, while the troops that were under marching orders for the valley were detained. An indirect result of this movement was the capture of the Weldon Railroad.

Han-
cock's
move-
ment
on the
north

To counteract the attack on the north, Lee withdrew a large force from Petersburg to strengthen his works. As soon as that was known, the Fifth Corps under General Warren, stationed on the extreme left, struck the railroad just below Petersburg and fortified the position. The next day a determined attempt was made to dislodge him, which was repulsed with heavy loss. In three days Warren's forces succeeded in destroying

Warren's
activity

1864
Aug.-
Sept.

Alter-
nate
victory
and
defeat

seven miles of the road. On the 20th the troops were withdrawn from the north side of the James, and returned to the main army in front of Petersburg. On the 28th of September a second movement was made to the north of the James, which assaulted and carried the line of fortifications known as Fort Harrison, capturing fifteen guns and the Newmarket Road. Immediately afterward an assault was made on Fort Gilmore, in which the Federal troops were repulsed. The next day the Confederate works at Poplar Spring Church were captured and held. October 7, a force of Union cavalry was driven back from a reconnaissance with heavy loss, losing all its guns. A week later a detachment sent out from Butler was defeated.

Move-
ments of
General
Butler

On May 4, the same day that the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan, General Butler, with an army 30,000 strong, moved up the James River, and landed at Bermuda Hundred, within twenty miles of Richmond. When there he destroyed a large section of the Richmond & Petersburg Railroad, pushed back the Confederates, and took the outer defenses at Fort Darling. Beauregard at once hurried from Charleston with all his available troops, threw himself upon Butler, and forced the latter back from Drury's Bluff to his landing-place at Bermuda Hundred. In the attack Butler lost 4000 men and Beauregard 3000. The latter now threw up a line of earthworks, so that Butler, who could not move either way, was, in his own language, completely "bottled up." But he was a continual threat, and Beauregard



DREWRY'S BLUFF, VA.



VIEW NEAR DUTCH GAP, VA.

was obliged to keep a considerable force to watch him.

1864
May-
June

Grant at the same time had planned two other movements. One was the sending Crook up the Valley of the Kanawha River in West Virginia, and Sigel from Winchester up the Shenandoah Valley. Crook divided his forces, taking 6000 infantry under his own command to destroy the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, at the same time sending General Averill with two regiments of cavalry to destroy the works at the mines near Wytheville. Averill was driven back by Morgan with his cavalry, and Crook was obliged to retreat. Sigel, who had about 10,000 men, marched to New Market, where he was defeated by General Breckenridge with a loss of 700 men and six guns. Sigel was removed; General Hunter was appointed in his place, and directed to move towards Staunton and destroy the railroad. On June 5, Hunter encountered Breckenridge's forces at Piedmont and defeated them, taking 1500 prisoners and three guns. At Staunton Creek he was joined by Crook and Averill, his forces now being brought up to 20,000. An attack on Lynchburg was considered; but Hunter, finding it too strongly defended and being short of supplies, thought it wise to retreat. Although threatened by a superior force, he succeeded in returning safely, saving his army, but leaving the Shenandoah Valley open to the enemy.

Opera-
tions in
Virginia

Hunter
retreats

Immediately after Hunter left the valley, June 19, General Early was sent with 20,000 men to

1864
July

Wash-
ington
threat-
ened by
Confed-
erates

Raid into
Pennsyl-
vania

make a demonstration on Washington, Lee thinking that it would compel Grant to give up the siege of Petersburg. Early moved rapidly north, pushed Sigel from his front, crossed the Potomac, and reached Frederick on the 7th of July. From this place he could move either against Baltimore or Washington. The Sixth and Nineteenth Corps were at once ordered to follow. Lew Wallace, who was at Baltimore, moved toward Frederick, and was attacked by Early on July 9, being driven back with a loss of 2000 men. The Confederate cavalry followed closely upon Wallace's retreat to Baltimore, tore up the tracks, and burned the bridges on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. On the morning of the 11th, Early reached the outer fortifications of Washington, but a day late. The Sixth Corps had just arrived, and the next day it was followed by the Nineteenth. Early then retreated back into Virginia. The Sixth and Nineteenth Corps were recalled, in the belief that Early would not stop in his retreat before reaching Richmond. He returned, however, and drove back the force that was following him, while 3000 cavalry under his command pushed forward into Pennsylvania, entering the town of Chambersburg. A ransom of \$500,000 for it was demanded, the invaders threatening to burn the town if it were not paid. The houses were looted and people were stripped and robbed in the street at the point of the musket. The citizens refused to pay the tribute, and the town was fired as threatened. Although closely pursued, most of the raiders got

back safe into Virginia. Grant then sent Sheridan to take command of the troops in the valley, to drive out Early. On September 9, Sheridan attacked Early and defeated him, taking 2500 prisoners and five pieces of artillery. Early then retreated to Fisher's Hill. Two days later Sheridan again attacked him, taking several hundred more prisoners and sixteen guns. Early then retreated down the valley, closely followed by Sheridan as far as Staunton. As soon as he received reinforcements, Early again invaded the valley, fortifying Fisher's Hill. September 19, on the Opequon, Sheridan's army attacked Early, who had gathered all his available strength and met the advance in the most resolute manner. Both sides fought without cover, and as a consequence the losses were very great. General Russell of the Union army, and Generals Rodes and Godwin of the Confederates, were killed early in the fight. Up to late in the afternoon neither side seemed to have gained any advantage. At this time General Wesley Merritt charged the left rear of the Confederates, and drove their flying and broken cavalry through the infantry lines. Repeated charges were made against Early's infantry, first in the rear and afterwards in front, as it turned to repel the attack. General Charles Russell Lowell later made a furious charge with his brigade, capturing many prisoners, a number of flags, and two guns.

It was now nearly dark, and Sheridan ordered a charge along the whole line. It was made with such vigor that the enemy offered little resistance,

1862
Sept. 19

Sheridan
pursues
Early

Who is
soundly
whipped

1864
Sept.

and fled from the field in disorder. Nothing but the darkness saved Early's entire army from capture. The next morning at daylight rapid pursuit was made, and Early was overtaken at Fisher's Hill. At this point in the valley there is a width of only about four miles. Here a defensive force is protected by the impassable mountains of the Shenandoah. On the left were strong earthworks. Sheridan decided to attempt to turn Early's position by his right. About sundown on the 21st, Crook's division which had kept out of sight of the enemy, struck Early's left and rear so suddenly that his troops broke in confusion and fled from the works. They were immediately followed some fifteen miles, as far as Woodstock, and from there to various points, the enemy retreating in line of battle from each.

Early
hotly
pursued
by Union
forces

Sheridan
devas-
tates the
valley

All this time Early was weak in cavalry. He at last succeeded in reaching Port Republic, where he was strongly reinforced. On the 25th of September, General Torbert, of Sheridan's division of cavalry, arrived and was sent to Staunton; from which place he moved to Waynesboro, destroying the railway track together with immense quantities of army stores. On Sheridan's return march to Winchester the valley was devastated, but no personal violence on any inhabitant was ever reported. On the 9th of October, Torbert's cavalry fought a division of the enemy and drove it some twenty-six miles, capturing its guns and many prisoners. During the brief campaign this dashing body of cavalry fought just twenty-six

engagements, losing in an aggregate 3000 men and officers.

1864
Oct.

On the return of the army it took position on Cedar Creek, north of the Shenandoah. Here a dispatch from Longstreet to Early was captured, from which it was learned that an attack was being planned by the combined forces. Sheridan had been summoned to Washington; but though anticipating no immediate movement on the part of Early's army, he directed General Wright, second in command, to use the utmost caution and be prepared to resist an attack in case it should be made. General Early had now concluded his preparations, and at dawn on the 19th of October made a sudden assault upon the camp of General Crook, in flank and rear. The men were asleep in their tents and were driven from their beds, many of them not having the time to hurry into their clothes. Their guns were seized and turned upon them. Wright's infantry fared a little better, but offered only slight resistance. In a few minutes Sheridan's army was astir, and confidence was being restored. The fighting was very severe, and several regiments gave way and fled towards Winchester.

Early
makes
counter
attack

Sheridan had reached Winchester the night before, and on hearing the guns in the morning hurried to the scene. The troops had already been rallied, and were returning to the attack; but his coming was greeted with cheers. He ordered a cavalry charge on the left, which struck the enemy in front and scattered them in all

But is
repulsed

1864-5

Union
losses
severe

directions. The infantry made an impetuous charge upon Gordon's brigade, which broke and fled. The cavalry pursued them until night, taking three battle flags and twenty-two guns, with army trains, besides everything which had been taken from the Union army in the early part of the day. The Union losses were severe. General Bidwell and Colonels Thoburn and Kitching, and many other officers and men, were killed. General Charles Russell Lowell was wounded early in the day, but refused to leave the field and was mortally wounded in the final charge by the cavalry. On the Confederate side, Major-General Stephen Ramseur was killed. The remnants of Early's army retreated to New Market, where it remained on the defensive.

Early
driven
back in
the
spring

In the following February (1865), Sheridan was directed to take his cavalry and interrupt and destroy the Confederate line of supplies through central Virginia. On the morning of March 2, his advance came into collision with Early at Waynesboro. Only a small show of resistance was made, Early with a few of his officers escaping by flight, while all his supplies, transportation, guns, ammunition, and flags, with most of the officers and men, were captured and sent to the rear. Sheridan then moved to the line of the Virginia Central Railroad and destroyed it for miles. A part of the command was sent to the James River Channel, which was effectually destroyed. Sheridan then proceeded to White House on the Pamunkey River, where he arrived March 19.



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN.

CHAPTER CII.

THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGN

With the opening of the Mississippi River, the country west of it was isolated from the rest of the Confederacy. The Confederate river navy was destroyed, and the constant patrolling of the gunboats prevented the passage of supplies in any considerable amount from one part of the seceded States to the other. The diminution of its resources was severely felt by the Confederate government, which had depended upon Texas, western Louisiana, and Arkansas for a large portion of its army commissariat. This was now lost, and with it the supply of men, as conscription in those States became quite impracticable. If Mississippi and Alabama could be detached in a similar way from the active theatre of war, the means of prolonging the struggle would be reduced to the danger-point.

Grant realized this, and made preparations for a campaign with his combined forces against the Confederate army, which was now in winter quarters at Dalton. General Thomas, with the Army of the Cumberland, was to give his attention to General Johnston, in command at Dalton; General Schofield, with the Army of the Ohio, was to drive Longstreet from East Tennessee; while

1863

Increasing
difficulty
of main-
taining
commu-
nications

Grant's
plans

1863

Sherman
prepar-
ing for
his
march
through
Georgia

Sherman, with the Army of the Tennessee, was first to make a preliminary raid from Vicksburg straight through the centre of the State along the line of the railroad through Jackson to Meridian, and then move as circumstances should dictate. At Meridian the railway from Vicksburg to Montgomery in Alabama crosses the Mobile & Ohio Railroad, making it a point of considerable importance. Sherman organized his army in two columns, which were commanded respectively by Generals MacPherson and Hurlbut. He let it be understood that he was to march on Mobile.

Details
of
proposed
move-
ment

At the same time a strong cavalry force, under General W. S. Smith, was to move from Memphis and pursue the Confederate cavalry under Forrest, then in northern Mississippi, and, if successful in routing him, to join Sherman at Meridian. Smith was relied upon to make a rapid raid along the railroad south from Corinth, destroying the bridges and the track to such an extent that they could not be made use of for military operations during the campaign. Sherman's task was to destroy the lines between Jackson and Meridian and beyond. That accomplished, no force could operate against Memphis or Nashville by way of northern Mississippi for months. If this plan could be carried out, and if Banks, as had been arranged, could afterwards effect the capture of Mobile, that port would at once be made a base for a new movement in coöperation with the one planned to be made from Chattanooga southward in the early spring.

On the 3d of February, 1864, Sherman started from Vicksburg with an army of 23,000 men and rapidly marched east, skirmishing with small bodies of Confederate troops at various places. No stop was made until Jackson was reached. At this place the work of destruction began. Manufactories, flour mills, machine shops, railway stations, and foundries were burned, the railroads torn up, bridges destroyed, and culverts blown up. Meridian was utterly destroyed so far as public property was concerned, nothing being left but the houses which were actually occupied as residences. After waiting for General Smith at Meridian for ten days, Sherman returned to Vicksburg, where he found that Smith had fallen in with a large force of Confederate cavalry under General Forrest at Okolona, and been obliged to return to Memphis.

1864
Feb.-Apr.

Sherman
reaches
Jackson

After his defeat of Smith, Forrest went on a raid into Tennessee and Kentucky with a force of 5000 men, capturing Union City, Tennessee, with 400 prisoners. From there he moved against Paducah, where there was a garrison of 700 men at Fort Anderson under Colonel Hicks. The surrender of the fort was demanded, but refused. In the attack which followed, Forrest lost 300 men, but failed to seize the fort.

Forrest's
raid

On April 12, Forrest reached Fort Pillow, the garrison of which consisted of about 550 men, half of them negro troops. An attack was made, and the garrison was forced from the outer works into the inner fort. Forrest sent a flag of truce

1864

Forrest
captures
Fort
Pillow

demanding its surrender. The commander asked for an hour to consult with the officers of the gunboats. Forrest answered that he would give him twenty minutes. The commander declined to surrender, and Forrest's forces rushed upon the fort with shouts of "No quarter!" The odds were 5000 to 500. Feeling their helplessness, the soldiers threw down their arms and tried to escape down the steep bluff to the river. Escape was impossible. The attacking force spared neither soldiers nor officers. It was charged that in the hospitals the sick and wounded were killed in their beds; that the huts and tents where many of the wounded lay were set on fire, and that those who endeavored to escape were shot as they ran out. This was denied by Forrest; but the fact remains that 400 of the 550 who composed the garrison were slain, most of them after they had thrown down their arms. From Fort Pillow Forrest moved into Mississippi, and was pursued by General Sturgis with a force of nearly 12,000; unsuccessfully, however, Forrest escaping by a bold dash through Memphis.

Steele
occupies
Little
Rock

In midsummer of 1863, General Steele had been sent to Arkansas to drive the Confederates in that State south of the Arkansas River. This was successfully accomplished; and on the 10th of September, Steele entered and took possession of the capital, Little Rock. At the time Banks started on his expedition, Steele was ordered to march towards Shreveport to join forces with him. In obedience to this order, he started with 12,000

infantry and 3000 cavalry, reaching Camden, where he heard of Banks' defeat and retreat. At that time General Price was in southwestern Arkansas with about 12,000 men. Just after the expedition, this force was nearly doubled by additions from Kirby Smith's army. He now made a demonstration against Steele, who was obliged to turn back to Little Rock, which he reached on the 2d of May; barely succeeding in saving his army, losing in his retreat some of his artillery and the larger part of his supplies.

1864

Price
drives
back
Steele

In August, Price again entered Missouri with a force of 10,000 men. He marched through the State, receiving reinforcements and threatening St. Louis and Jefferson City. After destroying a good deal of Union property, he moved up the Missouri River towards Kansas. Rosecrans was then in command in Missouri, with more men than Price. He ordered General Curtis, who was in command in Kansas, to move against him. Rosecrans' cavalry, commanded by General Pleasanton, made swift pursuit. Price attempted to escape, but was overtaken in October and defeated in two battles. At the Little Osage River the Union troops captured eight guns and over 1000 prisoners, among whom were Generals Marmaduke and Cabell. Price himself managed to escape into western Arkansas. This was the last invasion of Missouri.

Price
raids
MissouriBut is
defeated

Simultaneous with Sherman's Meridian raid was what is known as the Red River expedition; a fruitless episode of the war, whose conduct re-

1864
March-
May

flected little credit on any one connected with it, and which led to the retirement of its leader to private life.

Banks
defeated
by
Taylor

In March, 1864, General Banks started from New Orleans on an expedition up the Red River, the main object of which was the capture of Shreveport, from the beginning of the war a Confederate depot of supplies. It was thought to be an important strategical point, in case complications should arise in connection with the movements of the French in Mexico; and immense quantities of cotton were stored there. General Dick Taylor, with a large force, was there, expecting reinforcements. On the 8th of April, at Sabine Cross-roads, forty miles from Shreveport, Banks' advance came into collision with the main body of Taylor's army in a strong position. A fight ensued, and in two hours' time Banks lost 3000 men and nineteen guns, with wagons, horses, and stores. During the night he fell back to a place called Pleasant Hill, closely followed by the Confederate cavalry.

Canby
super-
seded
Banks

The next day Taylor's forces again attacked. They were checked and driven from the field; but Banks failed to follow up his success, falling back to Alexandria, leaving his dead and wounded on the field. On the 14th of May he marched from Alexandria, after having destroyed all the property that could be of service to the enemy. On the 20th of May he reached New Orleans and turned over his command to General Edward R. S. Canby, who had been sent to supersede him.

Grant was called to Washington, on March 2, 1864, to assume the command of all the armies of the United States; and Sherman, at his request, was assigned to the command of the military division of the Mississippi. On the 18th of March, orders were issued for the conduct of the campaign. Sherman's first care was to provide for the transportation of supplies. Thirteen hundred tons a day had to be forwarded to meet the demand, and to accumulate such stores as would be needed in case of interruption of communications. But the railway systems under army control were not sufficient for this service. Within thirty miles from Nashville all supplies were drawn by wagons, while the beef cattle for the army were driven along on foot.

Sherman was now ready to enter upon the campaign. He called together his army commanders, informed them of his purposes, directed the concentration of the three armies, and fixed upon the 5th of May for a general forward movement. The combined forces now numbered nearly 100,000 men, with 254 guns. Bragg, who, as has been said, was relieved after the battle of Chattanooga, had been succeeded by General Joseph E. Johnston, who was regarded by the military men of both sides as second only to Lee in the qualities demanded in a great leader. He had large military experience, was of undoubted courage, and had the faculty of keeping a cool head under most exigent circumstances. It was his policy to defend rather than to attack. His plan was to tempt the

1864
March-
April

Preparing
for
campaign
in
Georgia

Johnston
assumes
command
of Con-
federate
forces

1864
May-
June

enemy constantly to assault his intrenchments, holding his positions to the last moment, and, if obliged to retreat, calculating that last moment so well as to save nearly every gun and wagon in the final withdrawal.

Confed-
erates
well
fortified

On the 5th of May, 1864, Sherman began his march from Chattanooga upon Dalton. Johnston immediately fell back to Resaca, on the line of railroad, ten miles below. Thence he was driven to Dallas, and from there he took a strong position on the Kenesaw, Pine, and Lost Mountains, near Marietta. The position here was admirably adapted for defense. The summits of these three peaks were made almost inaccessible by rifle-pits, breastworks, and abatis. The line of defense was nearly ten miles in length. Sherman determined, instead of attempting a flank movement, to make a direct assault. Pine Mountain was abandoned before a shot was fired. On the morning of the 14th of June the attack was begun, and General Polk was killed at the first fire. The fighting continued the next day, and on the 16th the Confederates evacuated Lost Mountain, Johnston reforming his lines on Kenesaw so as to cover Marietta. Sherman followed him closely, and on the 27th made an assault, but was repulsed with considerable loss.

On the 28th of June an attack by the combined armies was made upon Kenesaw from different points. MacPherson had selected the south and west of the principal crest of the mountain for his attack, and committed the details of the plan to



GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

Logan, whose corps lay opposite. His forces were directed to form in lines, and to move simultaneously with the columns of the Army of the Cumberland on the right when the signal should be given. The attack was unsuccessful; but Johnston, feeling his situation precarious, on the night of July 2 evacuated Kenesaw and fell back into new intrenchments behind Nickajack River.

1864
July

Johnston
falls
back

The campaign had now lasted a little over a month, a period of daily sharp skirmishing with occasional serious engagements. During that month the army had lost 7500 men, a daily average of 200. Johnston's losses were a little more than that. On the night of the 9th of July, Johnston quietly made a second retreat, burning the railway and wagon bridges behind him, and hastened to Atlanta. That was the stake being played for.

To
Atlanta

The importance of Atlanta has already been referred to. Several important railroads centred there, and after the beginning of the war it was in many respects the most important position in the entire South. Arsenals, workshops, woolen mills, and foundries had been built, storehouses and magazines established; there were machine shops for the manufacture of rifles and cartridges, factories and shops for building army wagons and ambulances, for the manufacture of clothing, shoes, and other supplies for the army. Its natural position was one of extreme strength.

Strategic
value of
that city

Johnston now selected a position on the line of the Georgia Railway between Atlanta and Decatur, and prepared to meet Sherman in an engage-

1864
July

Hood
succeeds
Johnston

ment which he proposed to make decisive. The ground was well chosen, and the intrenchments were of formidable character; but he was not fated to carry out his plans. He knew that Sherman's forces were close upon him, and that the collision might occur at any moment. On the 17th of July, while he was assigning his forces to their proper positions and giving instructions to his chief engineer, a telegraphic order was received from Richmond to turn over his command at once to General Hood. The reason assigned was his constant retreat before Sherman, and a doubt as to his ability to properly defend Atlanta. Johnston promptly obeyed the order; but, before leaving, fully informed Hood of his plans for attacking Sherman, and then of moving his troops to the south and east of Atlanta and striking a blow upon his right flank.

Union
forces
success-
fully
with-
stand
Hood's
attacks

When Sherman heard of the change of leaders he knew that it now meant fight. The patient skill, and watchful intelligence and courage, with which Johnston had always confronted attack, had been exasperating. He had always managed to meet an attack behind fortifications. Hood was a soldier of the Stonewall Jackson school, full of dash, but without Jackson's clear head and good judgment. At three o'clock in the afternoon of the 20th, Hood made a violent attack upon the Union left, which soon spread along the whole line. Charge after charge was repulsed with great slaughter, and at sunset the shattered Confederate army retired behind its works.

All the railroads had now been cut except that between Macon and Montgomery, over which the Confederates drew most of their supplies. General Stoneman with 5000 cavalry, and General McCook with 4000 men, were sent out with orders to destroy it if possible. McCook was able to do the road some slight damage and get back safely. Stoneman was taken prisoner with some of his men, while the rest retreated without accomplishing anything. On the 28th Hood made a desperate attack on the Army of the Tennessee on the west side of the city, but was forced back to his intrenchments.

1864
July-
August

Rail-
roads de-
stroyed

After a month's siege Sherman found that the works were too strong and too well defended to be carried by assault, and that the only way to capture the city was by cutting off supplies. To do this he must repeat the attempt of McCook and Stoneman, and seize and hold, if possible, the Macon Railroad. Curiously enough, Hood had at the same time sent the larger part of his cavalry on an expedition towards Chattanooga to destroy the railway behind Sherman; but that danger had been appreciated and a large amount of supplies stored at Allatoona, which was strongly fortified and garrisoned. When this fact became known to Sherman he hurried his cavalry to the Macon road, and, taking fifteen days' provisions, he marched his entire army around to the other side of the city, to Jonesboro, on the railroad twenty miles from Allatoona.

Attempts
to cut off
food
supplies

Hood was now cut off from his supplies in all directions, and saw that the only thing to do

1864
Sept.

Sherman
enters
Atlanta

was to fight. On the last day of August he threw himself against Howard, but was forced to fall back. On the 1st of September, Hood blew up his magazines and arsenals, and began a rapid retreat towards Macon. Sherman at once entered Atlanta, and telegraphed the President, "Atlanta is ours and fairly won." Hood as well as Johnston had failed at every point. Both had planned well and fought well, but both had been outplanned and out-fought. Sherman still held Georgia in his grip, and now occupied a point of vantage, arranging in his mind the details of a movement which promised to be decisive of the whole war. It was taking a risk to loose his hold on Hood, who could undoubtedly have been crushed between Thomas' forces and his own; but he felt that the contemplated campaign from Atlanta to the Atlantic seaboard was of far more importance even than Hood's destruction, and he had every confidence in Thomas' ability to take care of any force that would be likely to oppose him.

Compar-
ative
losses

Sherman's losses from the time he left Chattanooga until he entered Atlanta were a little more than 31,000 men. That of the enemy was 35,000 men, forty guns, and 25,000 muskets; but the greatest loss of all was the city itself, the key to all the railroads running to the Gulf States, and the most important manufacturing centre and depot of supplies in the South.

Sherman now decided to make the city a military garrison, and ordered the removal of the inhabitants. Before this, in every such case, the

families of all those serving in the Confederate army had been fed and cared for by the Federal authorities. The municipal authorities of Atlanta earnestly requested Sherman to reconsider the order, depicting the suffering that would follow the ejection of so many families from their homes. In reply Sherman said, "I am not willing to have Atlanta encumbered with the families of our enemies." His supplies were drawn from Nashville, and were brought over a single-track railroad nearly 300 miles. It was obviously out of the question for him to support his own army and the people of the city also; he therefore turned over to General Hood 446 families. In his reply to the authorities he said:

"I cannot revoke my order. I have to prepare for a future struggle, in which millions, yea, hundreds of millions, of good people outside of Atlanta have a deep interest. My military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away; and I can only renew my offer of services to make their exodus in any direction as easy and comfortable as possible. War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it. I myself have seen in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, hundreds and thousands of women and children fleeing from your own armies and desperadoes, hungry and with bleeding feet. In Memphis, Vicksburg, and Mississippi we fed thousands upon thousands of the families of rebel soldiers left on our hands, and whom we could not see starve. When peace does come, you may call upon me for anything. Then I will share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to guard your homes and families against danger from every quarter. Now you must go, and take with you the old and feeble, feed and nurse them, and build for them in more quiet places proper habitations to shield them against the weather, until the mad passions of men cool down, and allow the

1864

Protest
against
Sher-
man's
orderDefense
of his
action

1864
Oct.

Union and Peace once more to settle on your old homes in Atlanta."

Alla-
toona
attacked
by Con-
federates

We now turn to General Hood, who, after the fall of Atlanta, had started out to invade Tennessee. The order for that campaign had been issued by President Davis, who supposed that it would compel Sherman to withdraw for fear of losing his line of supplies. Sherman had, in the mean time, fortified Allatoona and two or three other strategical places, while the railroad bridges were guarded by detachments of men protected by intrenchments. On the 5th of October, French, of Hood's army, attacked Allatoona, which was held by General Corse. The garrison consisted of about 2000 men, while French's division of Hood's army, which made the attack, had more than twice that number. No harder fighting was done during the war than in the three or four hours' struggle before the intrenchments. Corse was wounded in the head and for some time was insensible, but rallied in time to save the day at a critical moment. French at last withdrew, with a loss of 1000 killed and wounded, and 400 prisoners.

Hood
reaches
Florence

Hood now pushed on to Florence on the Tennessee River, where he hoped to cut off General Schofield, who with the Twenty-third Corps was on his way to Nashville to join Thomas. Schofield was overtaken at Franklin, where he threw up breastworks and awaited attack. At four o'clock Hood threw himself against Schofield's centre, capturing eight guns. Schofield now withdrew to



CONFEDERATE FORT AND POTTER'S HOUSE.



CONFEDERATE LINE, ATLANTA, GA.

the inner works, against which the Confederates made four distinct charges, each being bloodily repulsed. The fighting continued until midnight.

1864
Oct.-Dec.

The desperate character of the Confederate assaults during these two days is shown by their losses. Among their generals, Cleburne, Gist, Adams, Strahl, and Grandbury were killed. Brown, Carter, Manigault, Quarles, Cockerell, and Scott were wounded, and Gordon was captured. They lost about 6000 men. Schofield's loss was 189 killed, 1000 wounded, and 1100 missing. Schofield retreated during the night and reached Nashville the next day. At the same time General A. J. Smith arrived from Missouri and General Steedman from Chattanooga, with their separate forces, swelling General Thomas' army to about 56,000 men.

Desperate
assaults
upon
Schofield

The escape of Schofield was a bitter disappointment to Hood, who had hoped to cut him off and then drive Thomas out of Nashville. He reached Nashville on the 2d of December in the midst of a storm of rain and sleet which covered the ground with a coat of ice. Although Hood had formed designs for the attack, he now hesitated. Two weeks passed in apparent inaction. Grant became impatient, and telegraphed to Thomas to move out and attack.

Hood
hesitates
to attack
Thomas

On the morning of December 15, preparations were made for a sortie and a general assault upon the Confederate line. General Steedman, who was in command of the colored troops, was ordered to make a demonstration on Hood's right, while

1864
Dec.

Fierce
fighting

Result-
ing in
flight of
enemy

the real attack was to be made against the Confederate left. Hood was deceived by the movement, and weakened his left and centre to repel it. As soon as this was done, Generals Schofield and Smith assaulted the enemy's left in force, pushing it back some distance, capturing many prisoners and guns. Night coming on, the conflict ceased; Thomas' troops holding the ground they had won, while Hood fell back three miles from his first position and re-formed his line on the summit of a ridge. The fight was renewed in the morning with fresh vigor. Several charges were repulsed by the Confederates, who fought with desperation. Late in the afternoon a heavy assault was made on the Confederate right; their lines were broken; and in a few minutes the army, which just before seemed made of heroes, was transformed into a mob which fled in wild panic, leaving all their artillery and several thousand prisoners, among them four generals, in Thomas' hands. General Edward Johnson and nearly all his division were captured.

Hood's
desperate
plight

The Union cavalry, under General James H. Wilson, pursued the fleeing army. Hood attempted to make a stand at Franklin, but was driven from the hasty works he had constructed. The weather was bitterly cold, accompanied by rain and sleet. The roads were frozen, and the streams flooded so that the men were compelled to wade to their waists in crossing. Many of Hood's men were imperfectly clad and without shoes or hats. There was little food to be had;



GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS.



GENERAL JOHN E. HOOD.

the sick and wounded were left by the roadside and in deserted buildings.

1864
Dec.

While pursuit was being made by Thomas' main army, a force of cavalry under Colonel Palmer started out from Decatur to cut Hood's line of retreat in Mississippi. He overtook the enemy's pontoon train, consisting of 200 wagons and seventy-eight pontoon boats, and destroyed it. Learning that a large supply train was on its way to Tuscaloosa, Palmer surprised it just as it was crossing the line into Mississippi. It consisted of 110 wagons and 500 mules. Fortunately for Hood, Forrest's cavalry now appeared upon the scene and interposed between the pursuers and the pursued. Hood finally succeeded in crossing the Tennessee with the fragments of his army, and repaired to Tupelo, Mississippi, where he was soon after relieved of his command. A month before, he had begun his northward movement confident of its success. He had left behind him, in killed and wounded, as prisoners or deserters, a larger number of men than Thomas had in his original army. Out of the 40,000 men with which he followed Schofield, less than 15,000 remained.

Hood
retreats
into Mis-
sissippi

Is re-
lieved
of his
command

It had been the plan both of Grant and Sherman that the battle of Nashville should be followed by an active winter campaign against Hood, giving him no time to reorganize; using General Thomas' army for this work. That plan was changed, however; and it was determined to send General Smith's corps with a division of cavalry to reinforce General Canby at New Orleans for

1864-5

a campaign against Mobile, to transfer Schofield to the coast, and to employ cavalry expeditions under Stoneman and Wilson into the Carolinas and Alabama. The purpose was to maintain such activity in these places that no reinforcements would be sent to Lee in the east.

Stone-
man
raids
Virginia,

On December 9, Stoneman started from Knoxville with two brigades of cavalry, entered Virginia, burned the salt-works at Saltville, the iron-works at Marion, and the lead-works at Wytheville; captured two railway trains, burned a number of railway bridges, and captured ten pieces of artillery with large amounts of military stores and several hundred prisoners. At the end of December he returned to Tennessee, and a month later made an expedition through the Great Smoky Mountains into West Virginia. In the first week of April he entered North Carolina, capturing Salisbury with an enormous quantity of army supplies; routed the Confederate forces under Gardner and Pemberton; took 1300 prisoners, 18 pieces of artillery, and 10,000 stand of small-arms; retiring finally into east Tennessee on learning of the armistice which resulted in Johnston's surrender.

West
Virginia,
and
North
Carolina

CHAPTER CIII.

THE MARCH TO THE SEA

Before Sherman left Atlanta on his march to the sea, he ordered all the public property in the city, including the railroad station, machine-shops, storehouses, and other buildings which would be of use to the Confederates should they again take possession, to be set on fire. On the morning of November 15, 1864, the Gate City of the South was a mass of smoking ruins. On that same day 62,000 able-bodied, experienced soldiers, well armed, equipped, and provided, started on the long and dangerous march through a hostile country, cut off for the time from all communication with the outside world. At its head rode Sherman, with bands of the leading regiments playing "John Brown's Body," the men joining in the chorus. The army started with a supply train of 2500 wagons, with six mules to each. These were loaded with food supplies and ammunition. Large droves of cattle, sufficient for the meat supply for more than a month, followed in the rear, with 600 ambulances, and an artillery train of sixty-five guns.

Sherman understood perfectly that there was no sufficient Confederate force in Georgia to give battle, or even to delay him. He reasoned that

1864
Nov.

Sherman
leaves
Atlanta

With
well-
equipped
army

1864
Nov.

Striking
at the
centre

if the Confederate government was cut off from the material support of all the States but North Carolina, it would be impossible to raise sufficient supplies for its army. It had already been shown that the country west of the Mississippi, which had been isolated from the rest of the Confederacy was entirely unable to furnish men, money, or supplies. If such a situation, therefore, could be created, the rebellion must end from its own internal weakness. The practical separation of the Carolinas from the Gulf States could only be accomplished by the destruction of the railway lines which connected them and Richmond with Georgia. Besides this, it would be necessary to establish a new base upon the sea, some harbor which would be capable of being well fortified with free lines of ocean communication with the harbors of the North. When he started on his march, Sherman was by no means certain of the point on the seaboard he should strike. That would depend upon circumstances. The fleets on the coast were requested to watch for him either at Charleston, Savannah, Pensacola, or Mobile. If he should decide upon Charleston, it would be by the way of Augusta and the left bank of the Savannah; if Savannah, it would be by the way of Milledgeville and Millen.

Fleets in
wait on
the coast

Sherman's forces consisted of two corps of the Army of the Tennessee under Howard, and two of the Army of the Cumberland under General Slocum, with a single division of cavalry under Kilpatrick. The two wings of the army were

ordered to march upon separate and nearly parallel roads, threatening Macon and Augusta, joining forces later at Milledgeville. The work of destroying the railway was taken by the right wing at Griswoldville, near Macon, and one hundred miles between that station and Millen was so damaged as to make it completely useless. The task of destruction was not left to the soldiers merely; a battalion of skilled mechanics had been selected, and furnished with means for separating the rails from the cross ties and destroying them in their own way. In addition, all machine-shops, stations, bridges, and culverts were destroyed and the magazines blown up. This work of ruin extended over the two great lines of the State, the Georgia and the Central; the latter road, from Gordon to Savannah, a distance of 160 miles, was rendered completely useless. These lines were the only ones which at that time connected the Gulf States with those at the North. At the same time the forage, the crops, and the fences were destroyed throughout a belt sixty miles in width. For this both armies were responsible; the Confederate cavalry destroying them that they might not fall into the hands of the Union army, and the latter leaving nothing that they could not themselves use. The country traversed was at the beginning rich in provisions and forage. At the close it was a barren desert.

With the exception of unimportant attacks by the cavalry, the marching columns were undisturbed. The incidents of one day were very much

1864
Nov.

Invaders
work de-
struction

The
creation
of a
desert on
the line
of march

1864
Nov.

Steady
progress

Milledge-
ville
reached

like another. Ten or fifteen miles was the average daily progress. While on the march, the wagons were not allowed to pause, for the stopping of one would cause a blockade of the whole line. When a rest was to be made, the order was given by the sound of a bugle, the signal passing from regiment to regiment, from front to rear, enabling the trains to come to a stop simultaneously. During this breathing-spell of one, two, or three hours the soldiers broke ranks, threw themselves on the grass, some for a short nap, some taking the chance for a smoke or making a cup of coffee. At the sound of the bugle they fell into columns again for the forward march. On the 23d of November, Slocum's column, with General Sherman at the head, reached Milledgeville, the capital of the State. Most of the people remained quietly in their houses and were not disturbed, but the governor and his council and the members of the Legislature fled, carrying with them the State archives.

Little op-
position
to Sher-
man's
advance

Beauregard, who was in command of the department, issued a proclamation calling upon the militia to rise against the enemy. The inhabitants were appealed to to remove their negroes, horses, cattle, and provisions from the track of Sherman's army, and to burn what they could not carry. They were directed also to burn all bridges and block up the roads in his route, to assail him in front, flank, and rear by night and by day. Little attention, however, was paid to these directions. The people seemed to have lost heart, and very

little resistance was shown. The day of their arrival at the capital, a party of soldiers visited the Hall of Representatives in the State Capitol, called themselves the Georgia Legislature, elected a Speaker, and passed a vote repealing the act of secession. No damage was done to private property, but the arsenal and shops were destroyed.

1864
Dec.

Ten days later the column reached Millen, between Macon and Savannah. Here was located one of the principal prisons for Union soldiers. Sherman had intended to reach Millen before the prisoners could be removed, but was a day or two late. From Millen the roads were good, and rapid progress was made. As they neared Savannah, however, they found the roads barricaded with felled trees, with occasional small earthworks defended by one or two guns.

Millen
reached

Great numbers of negroes, old and young men and women and children, attached themselves to the marching columns, and were a source of great embarrassment in adding thousands to the number of those who had to be fed. Sherman issued an order, which was read and explained to them, trying to make them understand that it would be better to remain on the plantations and wait for the proper time. It was estimated that at least 15,000 of these helpless creatures hung on the skirts of the army as it advanced. This order and subsequent ones failed to have the slightest effect; and finally, losing patience, General Davis of the Fourteenth Corps ordered the pontoon bridges at Ebenezer Creek to be removed before

Army
embar-
rassed
by negro
hangers-
on

1863
Dec.

the refugees could cross. The stream was deep and unfordable; but the fear of falling into the hands of the Confederate cavalry was so great that the crowd rushed into the water, and many were drowned in trying to cross, despite all attempts to save them.

Savannah
invested

On December 10, Savannah was reached, and the national army began to close in on the works around the city. Two days later the investment was complete. The city was found to be defended on the land side by strong lines of earthworks with deep ditches in front, making a direct assault impossible. In addition to these, torpedoes had been planted in the roadways, and several men were killed or wounded by them. This made Sherman furious. "It was not war, but murder," he declared, "and it made me very angry. I immediately ordered a lot of rebel prisoners to be brought from the provost-guard, armed with picks and spades, and made them march in close order along the road, so as to explode their own torpedoes, or to discover and dig them up. They begged hard, but I reiterated the order, and could hardly help laughing at their stepping so gingerly along the road, where it was supposed sunken torpedoes might explode at each step." A layman cannot see, however, wherein it differed from planting mines, always considered legitimate.

Supplies
running
short

For the last few days the foragers had not been able to bring in the usual supplies. Rations now had to be drawn from the trains. It was necessary, therefore, to open communication with



GENERAL W. T. SHERMAN.

the Union fleet, and establish a base of supplies, by means of transports at Port Royal, making use of the Ogeechee River. This, however, could not be done until Fort McAllister was captured; and Howard was at once ordered to send a force strong enough to carry the fort by storm. Hazen's division, of the Fifteenth Corps, was selected to perform this task, and moved against the fort at noon on the 13th. Nine regiments were selected from the division to make an assault from three different points. Just at this time a tugboat from the fleet had come up the river, and approached near enough to signal Sherman and Howard, who were watching for the advance on an elevation. The steamer, seeing the signals, asked through the same means, "Who are you?" The flags answered, "General Sherman." Then the question was asked, "Is Fort McAllister taken?" "Not yet," was the reply, "but it will be in a minute." The next moment a gallant dash was made from each position. There was a brief struggle and the men poured over the parapets, passing the abatis and palisades and the ditch with hardly a perceptible halt. Fifteen minutes later the Confederate flag was hauled down and the national flag hoisted in its place.

1864
Dec.

Howard
sent
against
Fort Mc-
Allister

Which is
captured

The capture of the fort was of the greatest importance to Sherman. The river was now open, and vessels with supplies could come direct from Port Royal to the rear of his line, making a sure and permanent base of supplies. Immediate preparations were made for the bombardment

1864
Dec.

Surrender of
Savannah de-
manded

of the city, which was occupied by troops under General Hardee. Sherman first sent a flag and demanded the surrender of the city, writing to Hardee that he was prepared to grant liberal terms to the inhabitants and the garrison; "but," he added, "should I be forced to resort to assault and the slow and surer process of starvation, I shall then feel justified in resorting to the harshest measures, and shall make little effort to restrain my army, burning to avenge a great national wrong they attach to Savannah and the other large cities which have been prominent in dragging our country into civil war." With this demand he inclosed a copy of Hood's demand for the surrender of Resaca: "If the place is carried by assault, no prisoners will be taken." Hardee refused to capitulate, but on the night of December 20 he evacuated the city, moving towards Charleston.

Sherman's
Christmas
mas
present
to
Lincoln

As soon as this became known to Sherman, he entered the city with his troops and sent the following dispatch to the President, who received it on Christmas Day: "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also about 25,000 bales of cotton." To which the President replied: "My dear General Sherman, many thanks for your Christmas gift, the capture of Savannah. When you were about leaving Atlanta for the Atlantic coast I was anxious, if not fearful, but, feeling that you were the better judge, and remembering that nothing risked, nothing gained,

I did not interfere. Now, the undertaking being a success, the honor is all yours. Please make my grateful acknowledgments to your whole army, officers and men."

1864
Dec.

Sherman's great march of 300 miles had been achieved in twenty-seven days, with a loss of only about 750 men, most of them stragglers and bummers, who had elected to remain in the South or had been taken prisoners by Confederate skirmishers.

In Sherman's special field order of November 9, it was said, "The army will forage liberally on the country during their march." This order was literally and liberally carried out. In his report to Halleck, written after his arrival at Savannah, Sherman said: "We have consumed the corn and fodder in the region of country thirty miles on either side of a line from Atlanta to Savannah, as also the sweet potatoes, cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry; and have carried away more than 10,000 horses and mules, as well as a countless number of their slaves. I estimate the damage done to the State of Georgia and its military resources at \$100,000,000, at least \$20,000,000 of which has inured to our advantage, and the remainder is simple waste and destruction. This may seem a hard species of warfare, but it brings the sad realities of war home to those who have been directly or indirectly instrumental in involving us in its attendant calamities." It is fair to remember this action of our own when censuring the similar British conduct in the Revolution.

Ruin and
desola-
tion
follow
the
army's
advance

1864

Some of
the
results of
warfare

Serious charges were brought, after the war, against Sherman's army for lawless foraging, pillage, and unwarranted burning of buildings. These crimes and depredations were no part of civilized warfare, and were committed by a class of soldiers known as "bummers." These were not legitimate foragers, such as were sent out with authority, but stragglers and camp-followers who acknowledged no control. They kept away from the line of march and avoided camps. But, aside from the depredations of the bummers, it must be admitted that there was a great deal of plundering and wanton destruction of property by the Union and Confederate armies alike. The official records of both sides are filled with orders of superior officers to their men on this very subject.

Wilming-
ton to be
attacked

It was Grant's wish, after the fall of Savannah, that Sherman should move his army by sea to Virginia, and coöperate with him by way of the James in the capture of Richmond. To this plan Sherman objected, believing that he could do more effective work by marching overland through South and North Carolina,—exactly Cornwallis' movement in the Revolution. This step was afterward determined upon; but it was decided before the removal of the army to proceed against Wilmington in North Carolina, which at that time was one of the only two remaining ports left the Confederacy. The navy had tried in vain to capture it, but it was so strongly defended by Fort Fisher and its attendant batteries that all attempts so far had been in vain. A combined

attack of the army and navy was decided upon, and an expedition was arranged under the command of General Butler. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Porter, and the troops by General Godfrey Weitzel. Butler had formed a plan for loading a vessel with powder, sending it near the fort under the guise of a blockade-runner, and exploding it; believing that the concussion, if it did not destroy the work, would so paralyze the garrison that the fort could be easily taken. The vessel used for the purpose was an old gunboat no longer serviceable. The attempt, which was made December 23, was an ignominious failure.

1864
Dec.

Plan to
take Fort
Fisher

Fort Fisher mounted seventy-five guns; while the attacking fleet carried 500, some of them the largest manufactured up to that time in this country. The bombardment was kept up night and day until the afternoon of the 15th, when it was decided that an assault should be made. Before this, Butler had landed troops; but recalled them after the powder-boat failure and ordered the expedition to be abandoned. For this he was promptly removed by General Grant. The troops were ordered back, and General Alfred H. Terry was placed in their command. While the bombardment was in progress, General Terry's forces had gained a position within 200 yards of the fort. Admiral Porter detailed 1600 sailors and 400 marines to accompany the troops in the attack, the sailors advancing from the sea, while the troops assaulted the land side. Each party had to pass over an open space of nearly half a mile in making

Butler
displaced

1865
Jan.

The fort
surren-
ders

the charge. The national troops gained the parapet on the front, carrying seven of the traverses on the west without serious loss; then attacked the traverses toward the sea, taking one after another in spite of the most obstinate defense by the garrison. By midnight the bastion was carried. Shortly after ten o'clock resistance ceased. General Whiting, who was in command, recognizing the uselessness of further resistance, surrendered with about 1600 men, being all that were left of the 2500 defenders of the fort.

Wilmington
evacuated

After the fall of Fort Fisher, Admiral Porter attacked Fort Anderson, nearly half-way up the river to Wilmington, silencing the guns late in the afternoon. In the night the garrison abandoned the work, carrying away six field-pieces, leaving ten heavy guns which could not be moved. On the 22d the Confederate forces evacuated Wilmington, which now came into possession of the Union troops. No hostile gun was thereafter fired between that city and the sea.

Advance
upon
Mobile

Late in January, 1865, General E. R. S. Canby sent General Gordon Granger with 1800 men from New Orleans to coöperate with the naval forces under Admiral Farragut in taking Mobile, which was the only important seaboard city held by the Confederates. The forts had been captured some months previous, but the city itself had thus far been free from attack. It had been very strongly fortified, and was defended by about 10,000 Confederate troops under Major-General D. H. Maury. The works had an armament of 300 field and

siege guns; there were also five gunboats under Commodore Farrand. Canby's first point of attack was Spanish Fort, a strong fortification on a bluff on the east side of the bay, nearly two miles in length and held by about 2500 men. With the exception of Richmond, Mobile was probably the strongest fortified city in the Confederacy. Its defenses consisted of three lines of earthworks with fifty-eight forts, and ditches thirty feet wide and twenty feet deep. There were also water batteries and several floating batteries, and the harbor channel was obstructed with rows of piles and torpedoes. On the west side the city was too strong to attack, and for this reason the first move was made against Spanish Fort.

The siege of Mobile began the 28th of March and lasted fourteen days, during which time a continuous bombardment was kept up by both sides day and night. Two of the gunboats, the *Metacomet* and the *Osage*, were blown up by torpedoes. On the 8th of April the outer portion of the works was taken; and that night the Confederates left Spanish Fort without attempting to spike the guns, which were now turned upon the other forts. A number of boats had been sent out to fish up the torpedoes, so that the gunboats could now move up near enough to shell the town. The next move was against Fort Blakely, a line of works nearly three miles long, defended by 3000 men. This was taken by assault on the night of April 9. At this point three generals and 3000 men were taken prisoners, and forty cannon with

1865
March-
April

Strength
of
Mobile's
defenses

Two
weeks of
bombard-
ment

1865
April

Union
army
enters
Mobile

ammunition and small-arms captured. The next day General Maury, seeing the impossibility of holding the city, embarked his forces, about 9000 men; and, after sinking the rams *Huntsville* and *Tuscaloosa*, went up the Alabama River. On April 12, he formally surrendered, and on the 13th the Union army entered and the national flag was hoisted on all the public buildings.

Selma
captured

To aid in the movement against Mobile, a strong cavalry expedition had been sent into Alabama under General James H. Wilson. On the 2d of April he reached Selma, which was held by about 7000 men under General Dick Taylor, who, on Wilson's approach, turned over the command to Forrest with orders to defend the place to the last, and then left by a departing train. Forrest made a sharp defense; but at sunset the works were taken by assault, with 32 pieces of artillery and 3000 prisoners. Forrest, with the remainder of the garrison, escaped after setting on fire 25,000 bales of cotton. After a week's rest, General Wilson marched upon Montgomery, the capital of the State, which made no defense.

Success
of
Wilson's
raid

From here Wilson crossed over into Georgia and captured Columbus, where an immense amount of Confederate property was destroyed. Two large ironclads were burned by the retreating Confederates. At Macon he received the news of the surrender of Lee's army, and at once suspended further hostile acts. During this raid Wilson captured 7000 prisoners and 288 pieces of artillery.

CHAPTER CIV.

THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

On the 27th of February, General Sheridan, with two divisions of cavalry, moved up the Valley of the Shenandoah from Winchester to Staunton, and from there to Charlottesville; destroying the railroad between those two towns, as well as the James River canal, which had been used as a Confederate line of supply. One month later, on the 27th of March, he formed a junction with the Armies of the Potomac and the James. General Lee, in the mean time, had made up his mind to abandon the works at Petersburg and Richmond and unite with Johnston's army, then fronting Sherman; and Grant, who was fully informed of this plan, feared that it might be accomplished before he was prepared to meet it. In consequence he issued an order for a movement to the left by the armies operating against Richmond, with the purpose of destroying the road between Danville and Lynchburg, thus turning Lee's right. General Lee, in the carrying out of his plan, proposed to move against the works on the right of the line held by the Army of the Potomac near Appomattox River, believing that this would force Grant to concentrate there by drawing in his left. General Gordon was selected

1865
March

Sheridan
joins
Grant

Lee's
move-
ments

1865
March

for the service, and his corps was brought to the intrenchments nearest Petersburg.

Fort
Stedman
taken

The point of attack decided upon was Fort Stedman, where the opposing lines were quite near each other. General Gordon believed that this could be taken by night assault, and that a sufficient force could be pushed against Grant's left wing to disorganize it so that he could not repel the attack. In addition to his own corps, he had the larger part of A. P. Hill's and Longstreet's, with a detachment of cavalry, nearly one-half of the entire Confederate army. The attack was successful; and the fort, after a spirited resistance, was captured and its batteries turned against the Federal troops. Orders were immediately issued to recapture the works. General Hartranft charged with his division, drove back the enemy's skirmishers, regained two of the batteries that had been taken, concentrated a fire upon Fort Stedman from all the artillery in the works, and in a short time was again in possession, capturing 2000 prisoners, and taking seventy-one officers and nine stands of colors.

And
retaken

Strength
of the two
armies

Grant had planned his movement for an attack upon Lee's intrenchments for the 29th of March, but now determined to delay no longer. At this time the effective force of the two armies, according to the official returns of each, was as follows: Infantry of the Army of the Potomac, 69,000; field artillery, 6000; guns, 243. Army of the James, 32,000; field artillery, 3000; cavalry, 1700; guns, 126. General Sheridan's cavalry numbered 13,000,

making a grand total of 124,700. Lee's army, infantry, artillery, and cavalry, numbered 57,000. March 28, Sheridan was instructed to cross the railroad between Petersburg and Burksville, and destroy it, as well as the railroad west of Burksville. Having done this, he could either return to Grant's army or push on and join General Sherman. The commanders of the various corps were ordered to positions where they might work together. Lee, learning of the movement of Sheridan's cavalry, and surmising its object, directed General Fitzhugh Lee to move at once to Five Forks, assume the command of all the cavalry, and make an instant attack. On the 29th, Sheridan's orders were recalled, and he was ordered instead to push around the enemy and get on its right rear.

1865
March

Lee foils
Sheridan

It was Grant's intention to reinforce General Sheridan with an infantry corps, to enable him to turn Lee's right, and while he was accomplishing this, to assault the Petersburg lines with the remaining forces; but the condition of the roads prevented immediate movement. For three days there was continuous fighting at various points. On April 1, at four in the afternoon, an order was given out for a general assault upon the Confederate line. Sheridan was in personal command, chafing with impatience for the attack. At the beginning the fire was so hot that his skirmish line halted and seemed to waver. He put spurs to his horse and dashed along in front of the line, reckless of the bullets in the air, shouting and cheering and calling the men to come on. At

A
general
assault
ordered

1865
April

one place where his men were staggered by a heavy fire he galloped into the midst of them, caught the battle-flag, waved it above his head, and made heroic efforts to close up the broken ranks. The flag was pierced with bullets, the sergeant who had borne it was killed, and several of the staff officers' horses were shot.

Sheri-
dan's
daunt-
less
valor

"All this time," says one of his officers, "Sheridan was dashing from one point of the line to another, waving his flag, shaking his fist, encouraging, threatening, praying, and swearing, the very incarnation of battle. When the angle was taken, he spurred his horse over the earthworks and landed in the midst of a crowd of prisoners who had thrown down their arms." Nearly 1500 prisoners were taken at this point. "Sheridan," says General Porter, "that day fought one of the most interesting technical battles of the war: almost perfect in conception, brilliant in execution, strictly dramatic in its incidents, and productive of immensely important results." Over 5000 prisoners were taken.

Lee
retreats
toward
the
Appo-
mattox

The next morning, at half-past four, an assault was made upon the defenses at Petersburg, the outer works of which were taken, with over 1000 prisoners and twelve guns. Orders were given by General Grant that night for an assault early next morning on the still intact Petersburg and Richmond lines; but when the troops were deployed for the movement, it was discovered that the intrenchments had been abandoned, and that Lee was retreating toward the Appomattox.

Before starting on his retreat, Lee telegraphed to President Davis explaining the situation, and warning him that Richmond must be evacuated. He also sent another dispatch, ordering supplies for his troops to be sent from Danville to Amelia Court-House, where he had directed the troops of Petersburg and Richmond to meet; but when the trains reached Amelia Court-House, they were sent to Richmond to remove the Confederate government and its effects. The officer in charge, of course under orders, pushed the trains on to Richmond without stopping to unload the supplies; so that the rations, of which the army were in urgent need, were taken to Richmond and afterwards burned. At this moment, Davis, with his Cabinet, was in Danville, where he expected to find both Lee and Johnston.

1865
April

Miscar-
riage of
supplies

Lee in the mean time had made a rapid march to Amelia Court-House, but did not find the supplies he had expected. His men were hungry and weak from long marching. It was impossible to go farther without food, and a delay was made in sending out foraging parties in every direction. Grant had hurried after him, and on April 4 Sheridan's cavalry reached a place called Jettersville, on the Danville Railroad. This cut off Lee's retreat. A few hours later strong reinforcements of infantry reached Sheridan, who captured next day a train of 180 wagons, five guns, and many prisoners. On the night of the 5th, Lee made an attempt to cross the Appomattox and escape to Lynchburg; but his men were on the verge of

Lee's
retreat
cut off

1865
April

starvation, and the progress was very slow. Many flung themselves on the ground by the highway, and hundreds threw away their guns, which they were now too weak to carry any farther. Horses and mules dropped in the road, which became filled with wagons, most of them loaded with ammunition.

Confederates
har-
assed by
Union
troops

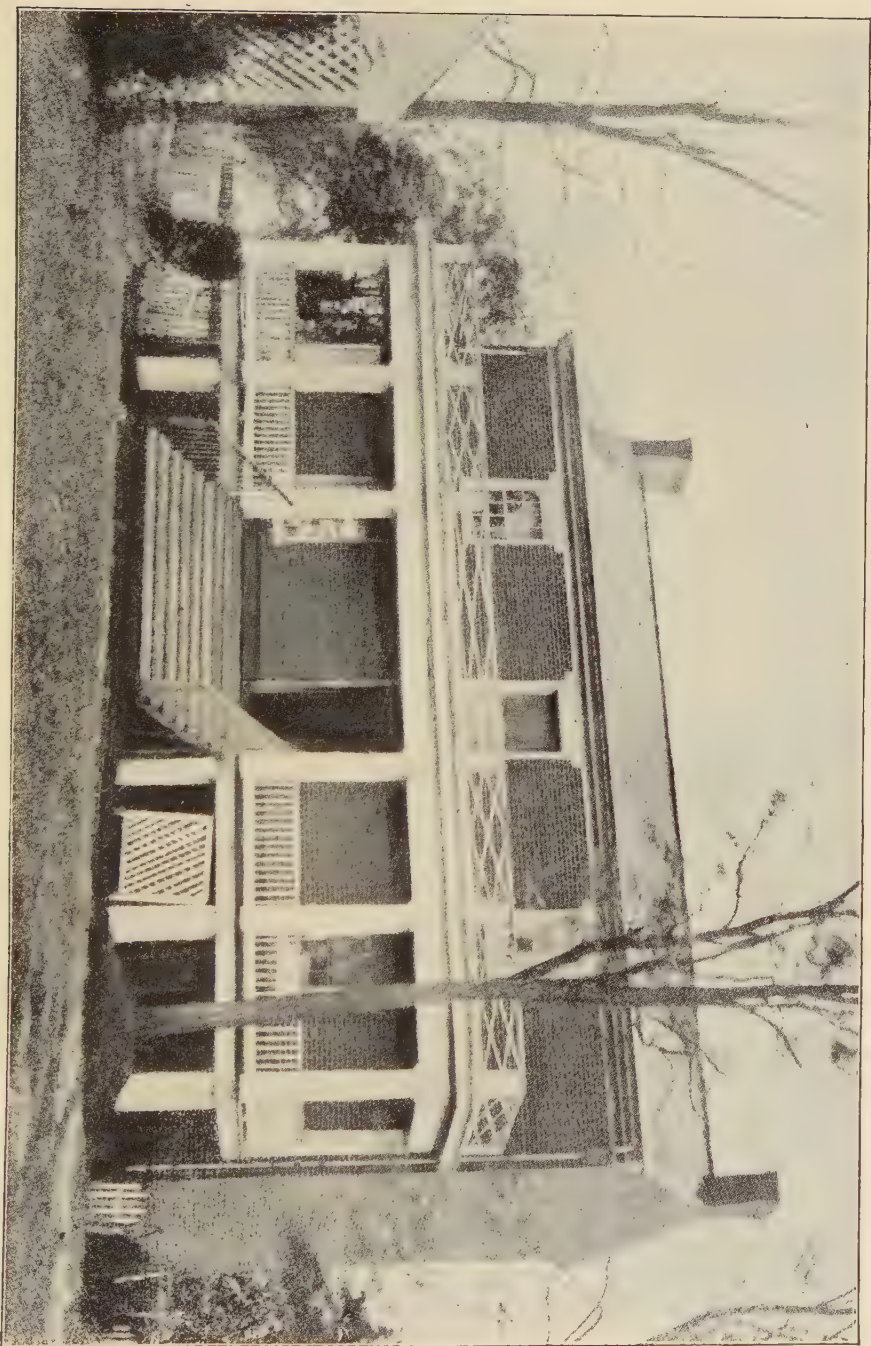
Behind these shattered columns rode Sheridan's cavalry, harassing them at every step. Brave as they were, they were too weak to make a strong defense. At every attack more or less important captures were made. At one charge 400 wagons, sixteen pieces of artillery, and hundreds of prisoners were taken. At Sailor's Creek, Ewell's corps, several thousand strong, with Generals Ewell, Custis Lee, Kershaw, and others, were captured. On Thursday night the remaining Confederates succeeded in crossing the Appomattox near Farmville; but the Federal troops were in touch with their rear, and seized the bridge before it could be destroyed, capturing eighteen pieces of artillery from the rear-guard.

On the
verge of
sur-
render

Both Lee and his officers had already come to the conclusion that further resistance was useless, and were considering the idea of surrender. On the day after the crossing, April 7, Grant sent the following note to Lee:

Grant's
note to
Lee

"General, the result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of



THE MCLEAN HOUSE.

you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States army known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

“U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.”

1865
April

Just before this note was received, the Confederates had repulsed a sharp attack of the Second Corps; and Lee, thinking perhaps it was the precursor of further successes, answered Grant that he did not agree with him that further resistance was hopeless, but asked what terms he would offer in case of surrender. Grant replied that but one condition would be demanded, and that was that the men and officers surrendered should not again take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged. Still Lee hesitated, but expressed a willingness to meet Grant on the 9th between the picket lines of the two armies for consultation. In answer Grant wrote:

Lee still
holds out

“I have no authority to treat on the subject of peace. The meeting proposed could be of no good. I will state, however, that I am equally desirous for peace with yourself, and the whole North entertains the same feeling. The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they would hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.”

While this correspondence was going on, General Sheridan was busy driving back the Confederates at Appomattox Station, where he captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, a hospital train, and four trains of cars that had just arrived loaded with supplies for Lee's army. Lee now asked for an interview, to which Grant agreed,

Mean-
while
Sheridan
is busy

1865
April

Grant
and Lee
meet

to take place that afternoon. The meeting took place at what was called the McLean House, a two-story brick structure. Colonel Babcock, General Grant's aid, who had been sent in advance, found General Lee on the ground under an apple-tree. This circumstance furnished the ground for the popular story of the surrender taking place under an apple-tree. Grant was accompanied by his entire staff, while Lee's only attendant was Colonel Charles Marshall of his staff.

The
terms of
sur-
render

The meeting was quite informal, and without any trace of embarrassment on either side. Grant wrote out the proposed terms of surrender in his manifold order-book, and passed it over to Lee, who read it carefully. The terms were evidently more generous than he expected. As he finished it, he remarked, "This will have a very happy effect upon my army. And," he added, "there is one thing I would like to mention: the cavalrymen and artillerists own their own horses in our army. Its organization in this respect differs from that of the United States. I would like to understand whether these men will be permitted to retain their horses." Grant replied, "You will find that the terms, as written, do not allow of this: only the officers are permitted to take their private property. But," he said, "the subject is quite new to me. Of course I did not know that any soldiers owned their animals, but I think this will be the last battle of the war,—I sincerely hope so,—and that the surrender of this army will be followed soon by that of all the others; and I take it that

most of the men in the ranks are small farmers, and as the country has been so raided by the two armies, it is doubtful whether they will be able to put in a crop to carry themselves and their families through the next winter without the aid of the horses they are now riding, and I will arrange it in this way: I will not change the terms as now written, but I will instruct the officers I shall appoint to receive the paroles, to let all the men who claim to own horses or mules take the animals home with them to work their little farms."

1865
April

Grant's
gen-
erosity

Lee was greatly gratified with this concession, and said, "This will have the best possible effect upon the men. It will be very gratifying, and will do much toward conciliating our people." General Lee then wrote a short note of acceptance, after which he said that he would like to send the Union prisoners in his possession to their own lines, as he had no rations for them; indeed, for his own soldiers. Grant at once offered to send over 25,000 rations to Lee's men, asking if it would be sufficient. The answer was in the affirmative. As the parties were about to separate, Lee asked Grant to notify Meade of the surrender, so that fighting might not break out again on that front and lives be uselessly lost. This request was immediately complied with. At four o'clock General Lee took his leave.

Lee
yields

Says General Babcock in his account of the meeting: "Lee signaled to his orderly to bring up his horse; and while the animal was being

1865
April

An
historic
moment

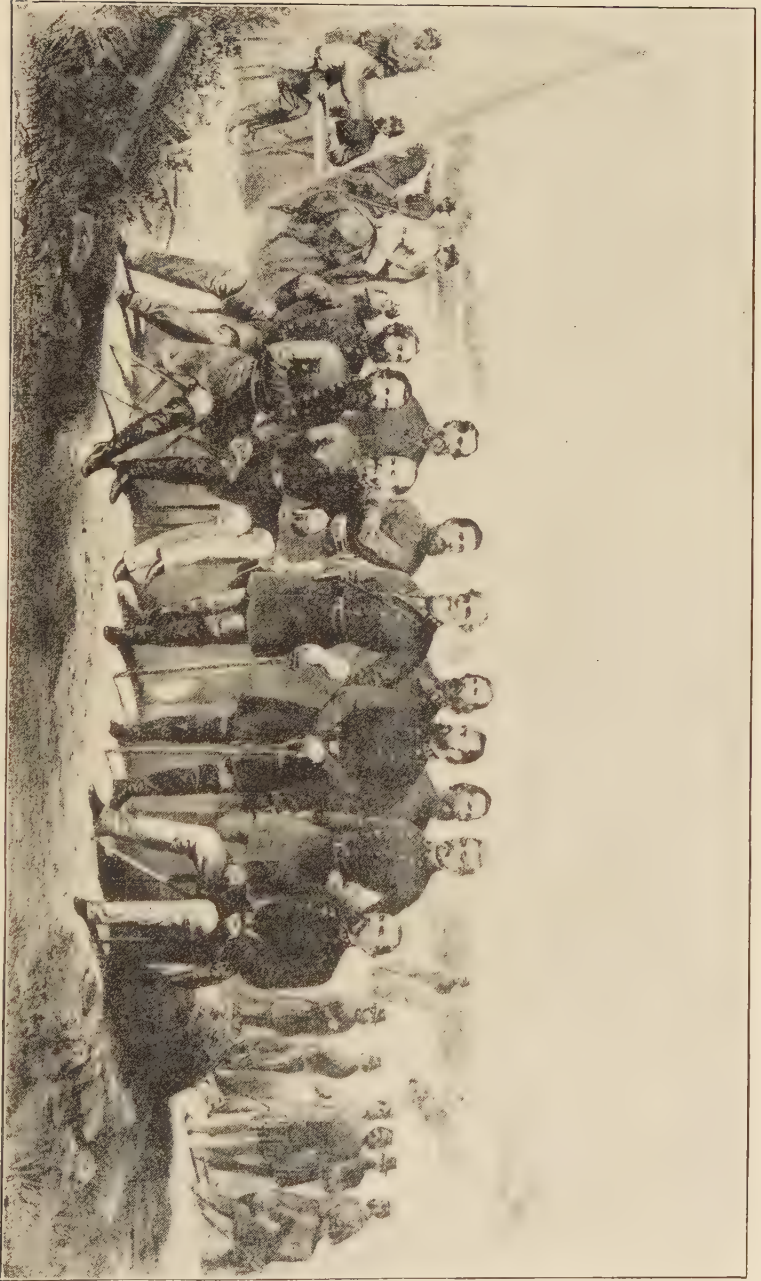
bridled, the general stood on the last step and gazed sadly in the direction of the valley beyond, where his army lay, now an army of prisoners. He seemed not to see the group of Union officers in the yard, who rose respectfully at his approach, and appeared unconscious of everything about him. All appreciated the sadness that overwhelmed him, and he had the personal sympathy of every one who beheld him at this supreme moment of trial. Grant now stepped down from the porch, and, moving towards him, saluted him by raising his hat. He was followed in this act of courtesy by all our officers present. Lee raised his hat respectfully, and rode off to break the sad news to the brave fellows whom he had so long commanded."

On the morning of the following day Grant paid a visit to Lee, and the two held a long conversation, the substance of which, as given by Grant himself, was as follows:¹

Lee's
view of
the
situation

Grant began by expressing a hope that the war would soon be over; and Lee replied by stating that he had for some time been anxious to stop the further effusion of blood, and trusted that everything would now be done to restore harmony and conciliate the people of the South. He said the emancipation of the negroes would be no hindrance to the restoring of relations between the two sections of the country, as it would probably not be the desire of the majority of the

¹ General Horace Porter's "Surrender at Appomattox Court-House," *Century War Book*, Vol. iv., p. 745.



ROBERT E. LEE AND HIS GENERALS.

Southern people to restore slavery then, even if the question were left open to them. He could not tell what the other armies would do, or what course Mr. Davis would now take; but he believed it would be best for their other armies to follow his example, as nothing could be gained by further resistance in the field. Finding that he entertained these sentiments, General Grant told him that no one's influence in the South was so great as his, and suggested to him that he should advise the surrender of the remaining armies, and thus exert his influence in favor of immediate peace. Lee said he could not take such a course without consulting President Davis first. Grant then proposed that he should do so, and urged a hastening of a result which was admitted to be inevitable. Lee, however, was averse to stepping beyond his duties as a soldier, and said the authorities would doubtless soon arrive at the same conclusion without his interference.

On that same day, Lee issued a farewell address to his army, which read as follows:

"After four years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen. By the agreement, officers and

1865
April

Lee
keeps
within
his
sphere

Apprecia-
tion of
his
troops

1865
April

men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed, and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you his blessing and protection. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and the grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

Confed-
erates
lay down
their
arms

General Grant did not wait to witness the formal surrender and paroling of the army, but returned to City Point, leaving Meade to attend to the necessary duties. On the 12th of April the Army of Northern Virginia marched to a large, open field near Appomattox Court-House, where they stacked their arms and accoutrements. Of the 26,000 men in the ranks, only about 8000 had muskets, the others having lost their weapons in the retreat. There was no exultation displayed on the part of the Union troops, who mingled with their defeated brethren, sharing with them their own rations until food could be drawn from the captured trains.

Rejoicing
in the
North

Never in the history of the country was such jubilation as filled the loyal States for two days succeeding the surrender. Business was everywhere suspended, courts adjourned, salutes were fired, bells rung, there was hardly a house from which a flag did not float, and thousands of houses and shops in the Northern towns and cities were hung with decorations. The whole North was ablaze with illuminations and bonfires, and the streets were filled with exultant crowds, who went wild with joy. When the news reached the New

York Stock Exchange, quotations were at once forgotten, and the whole crowd joined in singing the doxology, which was taken up outside in the street. Motley wrote, "Twenty thousand men, in the busiest marts of trade, in one of the most thronged cities of the world, uncovered their heads spontaneously and sang the psalm of thanksgiving, 'Praise God.'" The Secretary of War telegraphed an order to the headquarters of all the armies, and to every fort and arsenal of the United States, to fire a salute of 200 guns in honor of the event, while the following dispatch was sent to Grant:

"Thanks be to almighty God for the great victory with which He has this day crowned you and the gallant armies under your command; the thanks of these armies, and the government, and of the people of the United States. Their reverence and honor have been deserved by the brave and gallant officers and soldiers of your army for all time."

Just one month before, on the fourth day of March, Abraham Lincoln was for the second time inaugurated as President of the United States. Of his address on that occasion, the London *Spectator* remarked: "We cannot read it without a renewed conviction that it is the noblest political document known to history. Surely none was ever written under a stronger sense of the reality of God's government; and certainly none written in a period of passionate conflict ever so completely excluded the partiality of victorious faction, and breathed so pure a strain of mingled justice and mercy."

1865
April

Demon-
strations
in New
York

Lincoln's
noble
address

1865
April

Lincoln
in Rich-
mond

Visits
different
hospitals

Last
public
speech

A week before the surrender of Lee, the President had gone to City Point and remained at Grant's headquarters, in expectation of the event which he felt was sure to happen. On the day after the evacuation of Richmond, he accompanied Admiral Porter to the city and rode through its streets in an open carriage. Two days afterward he again visited Richmond accompanied by his wife, Vice-President Johnson, and some of the members of his Cabinet. It was not till the 9th of April, the day of Lee's surrender, that he returned to Washington, hastening thither in response to the news of Secretary Seward's fall from a carriage, by which accident he was seriously disabled. Before leaving City Point he visited the various hospitals, speaking kind and comforting words to the wounded soldiers, and thanking them for their services to the country. On the night of the 11th the grounds of the White House were illuminated, and a military band played the favorite national airs. An immense crowd had gathered, and the President was called upon for a speech. In responding, he paid tribute to the gallant men who had brought the war to a triumphal end; saying that he had no bitterness of feeling for those who had fought upon the other side for what they had believed to be a just cause, but which he believed to be a wrong one. This was the last speech he ever made in public.

He had many times been threatened with assassination, but, notwithstanding, used to visit the departments unattended, and, without escort or

guards, drove or walked abroad in the street by day or night without fear. "If they kill me," he said one day, "the next man will be just as bad for them; and in a country like this, where our habits are simple, assassination is always possible and will come if they are determined upon it." The presence of guards, in his opinion, would only serve to suggest to the evil-minded the thought of assassination.

1865
April 14

In the early part of the war, Secretary Stanton suggested to him that he be attended by the Adjutant-General; to which Lincoln replied that "it would be an uncompensating incumbrance both to him and me. When it shall occur to me to go anywhere, I wish to be free to go at once, and not have to notify the Adjutant-General and wait till he can get ready. It is better, too, for the public service that he shall give his time to the business of his office and not to personal attendance on me."

Lincoln's
fearless-
ness

On the morning of the 14th, Grant arrived at Washington in company with the President's son, Captain Robert Lincoln, who was present at Lee's surrender. A meeting of the Cabinet was held that morning, at which General Grant was invited to be present. It was announced in the papers that the President and Grant would attend the performance of "Our American Cousin" that evening at Ford's Theatre. That afternoon Grant was called to New York, and the seats reserved for him and his wife were occupied by Major H. R. Rathbone and the daughter of Senator Harris.

Just
before
the
assas-
sination

1865
April 14

The box in the theatre reserved for the Presidential party had been handsomely furnished and festooned with flags.

The
dreadful
con-
spiracy

For some time previous, a group of crack-brained fanatics of low type had been plotting the abduction or assassination of the President and principal members of the administration. The leader was John Wilkes Booth, an actor from a great and famous family of actors; not himself of high abilities, but sharing in their celebrity and of striking personal appearance. The conspirators met in the various drinking-places of the city, although their headquarters was at a boarding-house kept by a Mrs. Surratt, who, with her son, was implicated in the plot. On seeing the announcement that the President was to be at the theatre that night, Booth decided upon a public assassination, at the same time assigning that of some of the leading members of the Cabinet to his fellow-conspirators. It is just to say that no one of any position, North or South, knew of this foolish and wicked plot, or had any hand in it. At about ten o'clock in the evening, while the President was intently watching the play, Booth entered the box, and, stealing up behind Mr. Lincoln, put a pistol to the back of his head and fired. The sound of the shot paralyzed for a moment both the actors upon the stage and the audience in front. Major Rathbone threw himself upon the assassin, who struck him in the left arm with a dagger, and, rushing to the front of the box, cried, "*Sic semper tyrannis,*" and attempted to

The Pres-
ident
shot by
Booth



FORD'S THEATRE, WHERE LINCOLN WAS SHOT.

FORD'S THEATRE

TENTH STREET, ABOVE E.

SEASON II. WEEK XXXI. NIGHT 184
WHOLE NUMBER OF NIGHTS, 495.

JOHN T. FORD..... PROPRIETOR AND MANAGER
(Also of Holiday St. Theatre, Baltimore, and Academy of Music, Phil'a.)
Stage Manager..... J. B. WRIGHT
Treasurer..... H. CLAY FORD

Friday Evening, April 14th, 1865

BENEFIT!

—AND—

LAST NIGHT
OF MISS

LAURA KEENE

THE DISTINGUISHED MANAGERESS, AUTHORESS AND ACTRESS.
Supported by

MR. JOHN DYOTT

AND

MR. HARRY HAWK.

PROGRAMME OF FORD'S THEATRE.

leap upon the stage. As he sprang, one of his spurs caught in the folds of the flag in front of the box, so that he fell, spraining his ankle badly. He sprang to his feet, and, shaking his dagger before the audience, shouted, "The South is avenged!" Being thoroughly familiar with the theatre, and having accomplices within, he escaped through the back of the stage, no one opposing him, mounted his horse, which was being held for him at the stage door, and galloped out of the city.

1865
April 14

The as-
sassin's
escape

The President uttered no word after he was shot. The bullet had passed through his brain. He was lifted tenderly from his chair, carried to a house just across the street, and laid upon a bed, while the rest of his family and physicians were called. He died early the next morning without recovering consciousness, surrounded by his Cabinet and friends.

Lincoln's
death

The task of assassinating Secretary Seward had been assigned to one of the conspirators named Louis Paine Powell, who forced his way into the Secretary's house, entered the bedroom where Mr. Seward was confined by previous injuries, and stabbed him three times; none of the wounds, however, being fatal. The Secretary's son, Frederick W. Seward, who was in the room, attempted to interfere and was stabbed also, but not mortally. Three other inmates of the house, who attempted to bar his passage, were also wounded.

The
attempt
upon
Secre-
tary
Seward

Booth escaped into Virginia, but eleven days later was discovered and surrounded in a barn,

1865
April

Fate of
the con-
spirators

where he defied his captors. The barn was set on fire, and Booth, refusing to come out, was shot by one of the soldiers, a Sergeant Corbett. Paine was arrested and hung, with three others engaged in the plot, including Mrs. Surratt. Three others were imprisoned for life.

Univer-
sal grief
for the
martyr
Presi-
dent

The President's body was embalmed and taken to the White House; thence to the Capitol, where it lay in state; and finally was borne back over the same route over which the President had come to be inaugurated a little more than four years before, through Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, being viewed by hundreds of thousands who mourned him with the deepest sorrow. No man in the country was more universally loved than Abraham Lincoln, and even his political enemies had come to recognize and respect his honesty, and his evidently sincere desire to do what he believed to be for the good of the entire country.

Andrew
Johnson
becomes
Presi-
dent

The dead President was laid to rest in Oak Ridge Cemetery near his home in Springfield, where a monument crowned with his statue was later erected. Six hours after the President's death, the oath of office was taken by the Vice-President before Chief Justice Chase; and Andrew Johnson became President of the United States.

CHAPTER CV.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE CONFEDERACY

At noon on Sunday, April 2, it became known in Richmond that Lee's lines had been broken and that he was retreating on Danville, that the troops in the works about the city were about to be withdrawn, and the city itself to be abandoned. The news came like a lightning stroke. The first to be informed of the state of things at the front was President Davis. He was seated in church, when, in the midst of the services, an officer entered and walked quietly up the aisle to his pew, and handed him a telegram which had just been received by the War Department, advising that preparations be made at once for the evacuation of the city. Mr. Davis arose and went quietly out of the church, leaving the congregation wondering what had happened. It was not until afternoon that the public learned the truth. The scenes that followed are vividly described by the Southern historian, E. A. Pollard, at that time editor of the Richmond *Examiner*:

1865
April 2

Rich-
mond
thunder-
struck by
the news
of Lee's
retreat

“It was late in the afternoon when the signs of evacuation became apparent to the incredulous. Wagons on the streets were being hastily loaded at the departments with boxes, trunks, etc., and driven to the Danville depot. . . . All

1865
April 2

Graphic
description of
affairs in
Rich-
mond

vehicles suddenly rose to a premium value that was astonishing; and ten, fifteen, and even a hundred dollars, in gold or Federal currency, was offered for a conveyance. Suddenly, as if by magic, the streets became filled with men walking as though for a wager, and behind them excited negroes with trunks, bundles, and luggage of every description. All over the city it was the same—wagons, trunks, bandboxes, and their owners, a mass of hurrying fugitives, filling the streets. The banks were all open, and depositors were as busy as bees removing their specie deposits; and the directors were equally active in getting off their bullion. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of paper money were destroyed, both State and Confederate. Night came, and with it came confusion worse confounded. There was no sleep for human eyes in Richmond that night.

Fears of
a riot

“The City Council had met in the evening and resolved to destroy all the liquor in the city, to avoid the disorder consequent on the temptation to drink at such a time. About the hour of midnight the work commenced, under the direction of committees of citizens in all the wards. Hundreds of barrels of liquor were rolled into the streets and the heads knocked in. The gutters ran with a liquor feshet, and the fumes filled and impregnated the air. Fine cases of bottled liquors were tossed into the streets from third-story windows and wrecked into a thousand pieces. As the work progressed, some straggling soldiers, retreating through the city, managed to get hold of a quantity of the liquor. From that moment law and order ceased to exist. Many of the stores were pillaged, and the sidewalks were encumbered with broken glass, where the thieves had smashed the windows in their reckless haste to lay hands on the plunder within. The air was filled with wild cries of distress or the yells of roving pillagers.

Are well
founded

“But a more terrible element was to appear on the scene. An order had been issued from General Ewell’s headquarters to fire the four principal tobacco warehouses in the city. . . . The warehouses were fired. The rams in the James River were blown up. The *Richmond, Virginia*, and another one were all blown to the four winds of heaven. The

Patrick Henry, a receiving-ship, was scuttled. Such shipping, very little in amount, as was lying at the Richmond wharves was also fired, save the flag-of-truce steamer *Allison*. The bridges leading out of the city—namely, the Danville railroad bridge, the Petersburg railroad bridge, Mayo's bridge leading to Manchester and the opposite side of the James—were also fired, and were soon wrapped in flames.

"Morning broke upon a scene such as those who witnessed it can never forget. The roar of an immense conflagration sounded in their ears; tongues of flame leaped from street to street; and in this baleful glare were to be seen, as of demons, the figures of busy plunderers, moving, pushing, rioting, through the black smoke and into the open street, bearing away every conceivable sort of plunder. The scene at the commissary depot, at the head of the dock, beggared description. Hundreds of government wagons were loaded with bacon, flour, and whisky, and driven off in hot haste to join the retreating army. Thronging about the depot were hundreds of men, women, and children, black and white, provided with capacious bags, baskets, tubs, buckets, tin pans, and aprons; cursing, pushing, and crowding; awaiting the throwing open of the doors and the order for each to help himself. About sunrise the doors were opened to the populace, and a rush that almost seemed to carry the building off its foundation was made; and hundreds of thousands of pounds of bacon, flour, etc., were soon swept away by a clamorous crowd."

By sunrise the next morning the last of the Confederate troops had departed, leaving Richmond in flames behind them.

While Grant held the lines south of Petersburg, a force had been left in the Union works on the north side of the James River, in command of General Godfrey Weitzel. Weitzel, who had already been informed of Lee's retreat, suspected that Richmond would be evacuated, and

1865
April 3

Destruction of
public
property

Fire and
rapine
cause a
reign of
terror

The city
deserted
by
troops

1865
April 3

Union
troops
enter
Rich-
mond

Martial
law pro-
claimed

was holding close watch upon the city. On the night of April 2, he heard the sound of heavy explosions, and saw light as if from a great fire in the direction of Richmond. At daylight he started with his troops; finding, as he approached the city, the lines of earthworks and forts abandoned, with hundreds of cannons remaining mounted undisturbed, the tents of the soldiers as they had left them, the roads strewn with weapons, accoutrements, and war material. When they reached the suburbs they found the city in flames. General Weitzel dispatched a company of Massachusetts cavalry to take possession of the road to the public square, which was accomplished without interference. An hour later General Weitzel and his staff arrived, and a large national flag was raised over the capitol. The city was at once put under martial law, with General Shepley as military governor. Orders were at once issued by General Weitzel forbidding officers and soldiers entering any private buildings, taking any private property, or using any insulting language or gestures towards citizens; proclaiming also, however, that no treasonable expressions or insults to the flag would be allowed. Companies of soldiers were directed to assist in putting out the fires; but, in spite of their efforts, acres of ground were burned over. Many warehouses, mills, depots, and foundries were destroyed, with every bank and insurance office and the best part of the retail portion of the city. Richmond was burned, not by the army of the Union, but by the order of

Confederate generals, and sacked by its own people. For weeks a third of its inhabitants were fed by the United States government.

1865
April 3

The next day President Lincoln visited the city, coming upon Admiral Porter's flag-ship, the *Malvern*. He walked quietly on shore alone and started off up-town, directed by negroes. Admiral Porter, as soon as he knew of it, hurriedly dispatched a crowd of marines as escort; but they never found him. He expressed curiosity to see Libby Prison and Castle Thunder. During his few hours' stay, General Weitzel asked him what he should do in regard to the conquered people. The President replied that he did not wish to give any orders on that subject; but he said, "If I were in your place, I'd let 'em up easy."

Lincoln
in Rich-
mond

When Mr. Davis left church on that memorable Sunday morning, he hurried home and sent messages to the different members of his Cabinet. After consultation, it was decided to arrange for immediate departure as advised by Lee. All that day was spent in packing the government archives and destroying papers that could not be taken; while the officials of the different banks were busy packing the coin and securities in boxes for immediate movement. At ten o'clock that night President Davis, accompanied by the members of his Cabinet and other State officials with a strong guard, took a train for Danville, which was announced as the new capital. From thence on the next morning he issued a proclamation announcing that the Confederacy had now entered upon a new

Davis
getting
ready
to flee

1865
April

Davis
still
firm

phase in the struggle; and that now, relieved from the necessity of guarding particular points, the armies were free to move from place to place and strike the enemy far from his base. He declared that he was determined to maintain the contest with his whole heart and soul, and would never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the States of the Confederacy.

But with-
draws to
North
Carolina

A week later, when the news came of Lee's surrender, he was forced to flee from Danville. He then resolved to seek shelter with Johnston's army, and proceeded by railroad to Greensboro, North Carolina, where he sought an interview with Generals Johnston and Beauregard. At this place so little hospitality was shown the Presidential party that it was obliged to live in the cars most of the time spent there. In his conference with the two generals, Davis declared that in two or three weeks' time a large army could be put into the field; but both Johnston and Beauregard declared that resistance was no longer of any use, and that to continue the war would be the greatest of human crimes.

And later
still
farther
South

Greensboro was no longer safe; and the President and his escort, which had now dwindled to a very small force, took flight again. The railway had been destroyed by Stoneman's cavalry, and they were obliged to proceed on horseback and by carriage. Davis' only hope now was to get to Kirby Smith across the Mississippi, or to reach some port on the Gulf and escape to Mexico or some foreign country. During the latter part of

the flight he had traveled by one road on horse-back, while Mrs. Davis and the other members of the family took another road with the wagons and baggage. The day before his capture he had rejoined his family in order to conclude his preparations.

1865
May 7

On the night of May 7, a negro came into the camp of Colonel Harnden at Dublin, Georgia, and stated that a white party with a train of eight wagons had passed by the town during the day. One of the men of the party he had heard called President Davis. Colonel Harnden at once, with a company of cavalry, started in pursuit. In the afternoon a company of cavalry under Colonel Pritchard was met, to whom the story was told. The two parties now moved towards Irwinville by different roads. Pritchard reached the camp at two in the morning, while it was quite dark. As his men cautiously approached the camp they saw three persons leaving one of the tents, and moving towards the woods. A cavalry corporal rode forward and called upon them to halt or be fired upon. The order was obeyed, and the parties were found to be Jefferson Davis, his wife, and sister. Mr. Davis was dressed in a suit of Confederate gray, which was covered by a lady's waterproof cloak, while a shawl had been thrown over his head. This is the only foundation for the grossly exaggerated stories of his being dressed in women's clothes; and even had these been true, he would have plenty of good company in history. There is nothing discreditable in a disguise as a

Davis
party
closely
pressed

And
finally
captured

1865
Feb.

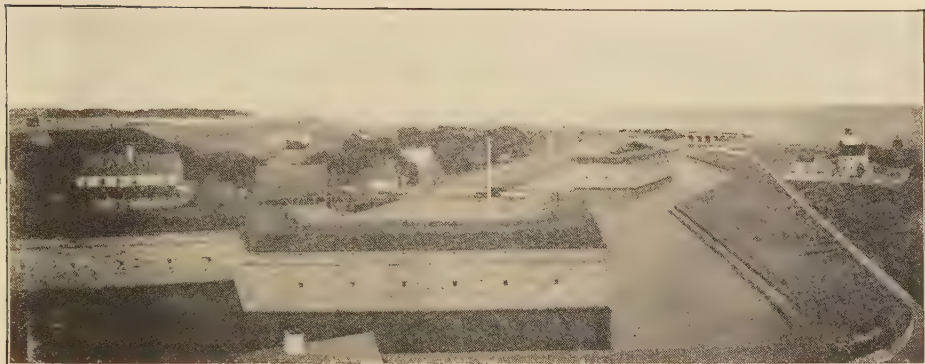
means of escape. He was taken as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe, where he was for a long time confined. He was never tried, and after public feeling against him had subsided he was set at liberty.

Opera-
tions of
Sherman
in North
Carolina

We now turn again to the two armies facing each other in North Carolina. On the 1st of February, Sherman, leaving General Foster in command of Savannah, set out with a force of 60,000 men and sixty-eight guns, the same army with which he had made his march to the sea. His purpose was to march directly upon Columbia, in South Carolina; from thence to Goldsboro, in North Carolina, where he hoped to open communication with Newbern and Beaufort. He was sure that he should meet with no opposition until reaching the Cape Fear River; at that point there being a faint chance that Lee might throw himself upon his army before Grant could overtake him with the Army of the Potomac. Aside from the possibility of such a movement by Lee, Sherman had little fear of any force which could be gathered either by Hood, Beauregard, or Hardee, who was now with his army in Charleston. His march was made with remarkable rapidity, and surprised the enemy by his progress northward through sections of the country deemed almost impassable.

Confeder-
ate con-
ference

Just at this time a conference of Confederate officers was held at Augusta, to arrange a plan of campaign. It was estimated that a total of 33,000 men could be concentrated by February 4



FORTRESS MONROE.



CASEMATE, WHERE JEFFERSON DAVIS WAS CONFINED.

or 5; but the conscription had exhausted itself, and the people were paralyzed rather than stimulated by the impending danger. After ten days of quick marching, Sherman reached a position just above Columbia. The retreating Confederates burned behind them not only the bridges, but the railway stations and freight-houses. By Hardee's orders cotton bales were piled along the Columbia streets, cut open and fired. On entering the city, Sherman issued an order that all private dwellings and property, colleges, libraries, charitable institutions, and the like, should be respected; but that all arsenals, machine-shops, and public workshops should be destroyed. A high wind set in, and many of the buildings took fire from the burning cotton-bales. Sherman gave orders for his men to set to work to put out or stay its progress. The fire was extinguished soon after midnight, but not before the greater part of the city had been burned to the ground. Sherman did what he could for the relief of the suffering citizens. He turned over a large herd of cattle, with provisions from the supply wagons, and ordered rations issued for the immediate wants of those who had been deprived of their home supplies. The army resumed its march from Columbia on the 20th.

When Hardee learned of Sherman's approach, he hastily evacuated Charleston; moving his troops to Cheraw, South Carolina, Greene's old Revolutionary camp, where large quantities of stores, public and private, had already been sent.

1865
Feb.

Sherman
enters
Columbia

Relief
afforded
unfortunate
citizens

1865
March

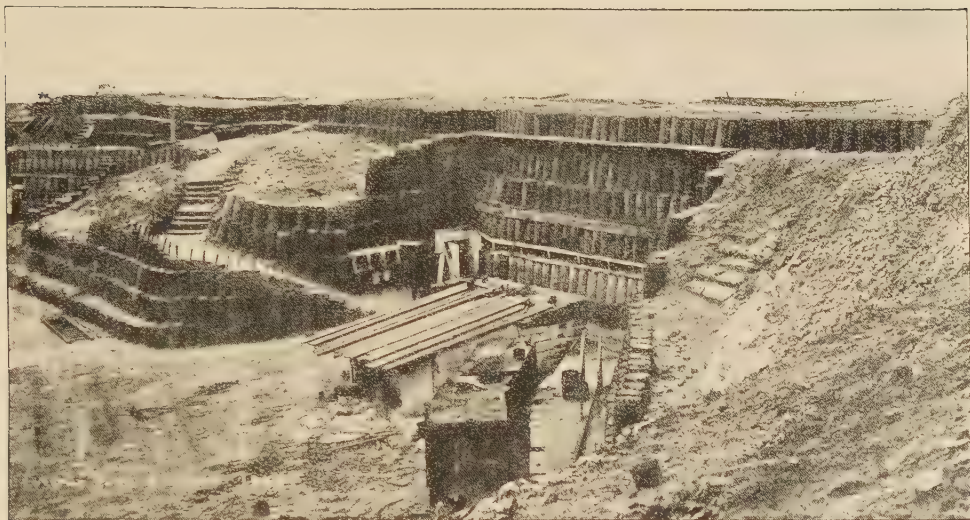
Fort
Sumter
and Char-
leston
taken

All the cotton in the warehouses in Charleston was burned by his order, and the building which had been used as a magazine was blown up by sparks from the fire, killing 200 people. On the following day the national flag was hoisted over Fort Sumter and the other forts, and at ten o'clock the Union troops entered the city. Detachments of soldiers were at once set to work to put out the fires. The evacuation was so hurried that the cannon in the works could not be removed, and 450 large Columbiads fell into the hands of General Gillmore, commanding the department. Colonel Stewart L. Woodford, of the 127th New York, was made military governor of Charleston. Under his direction business was resumed, schools were opened, and an era of peace was once more established.

Valuable
stores
captured
at
Cheraw

In the mean time Sherman pushed on to Cheraw, reaching there on the 3d of March in a heavy rain. Hardee retired before him without destroying his stores. Here were captured twenty-five pieces of artillery, 3600 barrels of gunpowder, many small-arms, and wagon-loads of fine wines and liquors, carpets, furniture, pictures, and household goods. Here Sherman heard that Beauregard had been superseded by General Johnston, who had concentrated a large force in his front to oppose any further movement on Richmond.

Sherman now turned the course of his army to Fayetteville, which was reached on the 8th. The roads were in bad condition, in some places overflowed, and the larger part of the distance



INTERIOR OF FORT SUMTER.



BATTERY AT FORT JOHNSON.

they had to be corduroyed with fence-rails, logs, and tree branches. Skirmishing with parties of Confederate cavalry was almost continuous. Hardee had now been joined by Wheeler's and Hampton's cavalry, whose constant attacks prevented rapid progress. One morning Hampton's cavalry made an early attack upon Kilpatrick's men in their camp, capturing their guns, many men, and several staff officers. Kilpatrick escaped on foot, followed his retreating men, rallied them, turned and charged upon the enemy, who were busy plundering his camp. The Confederates were surprised in turn, and Kilpatrick recaptured his guns; Hampton, however, managed to take away 200 prisoners in his retreat.

1865
March

Sherman
fighting
his way

Reaching Fayetteville, it was found that Hardee had retreated still further and was fortifying at Averysboro. A three-days' halt was made to give the men opportunity for rest. Here Sherman destroyed the arsenal, which was filled with machinery for the manufacture of guns. In the mean time General Johnston had been put in command of all the Confederate forces in the Carolinas, and Sherman at once understood that he must be prepared for a well-planned resistance to their progress. From that time there was hardly a cessation of skirmishing night and day. On the 16th, Hardee's position was attacked, and the Confederates retreated towards Smithfield.

General
Johnston
assumes
command

On the 19th, Sherman's advance came in contact with Johnston near Bentonville, North Carolina. Johnston had here brought together the

1865
March

Confed-
erates
worsted

remnants of Hardee's, Bragg's, and Hood's armies, and had chosen a position for battle. Johnston forced the fighting, and for a time the issue was doubtful. The fighting of the first day closed with both sides holding very nearly their positions of the morning. The second day's battle was more severe than the first, and Johnston withdrew his lines three miles to the rear. On the third day, after some skirmishing, the Confederates retreated to Smithfield. There was now no opposing force between Sherman and Goldsboro, which place was reached on the 23d of March.

Lee in a
perilous
position

Sherman had now cut off Lee's resources, and had got into his rear with an army large enough to shut him up in Virginia. This had been the special aim of the campaign; for if Lee had been forced south by Grant and the way left open for uniting his forces with those of Johnston, the combined armies could still have made trouble. Lee was now shut up between Sherman and Grant. Although he felt himself in a trap, his resources were not yet exhausted. He planned to make a rapid move against Sherman, crush him (which he felt confident of doing), and regain Richmond before the city could be captured. It was a desperate plan, whose success the size of Sherman's army and the ability of the commander made most improbable. President Davis refused to consider it, insisting that Richmond must be protected at all hazards.

Before moving from Goldsboro, Sherman wished to consult with Grant and the President.

Leaving his army in command of Schofield, on March 27 he reached Grant's headquarters before Petersburg. The President was on board the steamer *River Queen* lying at the wharf, and the three held a consultation on board. It was the opinion of all that the end of the war was in sight. The President was anxious to avoid further fighting if possible, and was in favor of offering liberal terms to Lee and Johnston if they would peaceably surrender. On March 30, Sherman returned to his command at Goldsboro.

1865
March-
April

Lincoln,
Grant
and
Sherman
in
council

A forward movement from Goldsboro was arranged to take place April 10; but three days before came the news of the evacuation of Richmond, and with it the information that Lee was making a desperate effort to reach Danville. Sherman's plan was therefore instantly changed, and his march directed to Raleigh, with Greensboro and Charlotte beyond. On the 11th, when Sherman had reached Smithfield, the surrender of Lee was announced. Every one now knew that the end was near. Johnston's rear-guard was still delaying Sherman; but on the 14th a flag of truce was received, and Johnston opened negotiations for surrender.

The end
at hand

A meeting between the two commanders was fixed upon at Durham Station, on the railway between Raleigh and Hillsboro, at which latter place Johnston was encamped. Just as Sherman was on the point of leaving Raleigh, the telegraph operator at the station hurriedly came into the car and asked that the train be held for a few

1865
April

News of
the
assas-
sination

minutes, as a cipher dispatch of great importance was coming over the wires. It was from Secretary Stanton, bringing news of the assassination of the President. The general was inexpressibly shocked, but controlled his feelings and warned the operator to keep the dispatch a secret.

Sherman
and
Johnston

When Durham Station was reached, Johnston was found waiting. The two repaired together to a neighboring farm-house a little distance from the station, and obtained a room where they would not be disturbed. Pens, ink, and paper were brought, and they were left alone. As soon as they were seated, Sherman handed Stanton's dispatch to Johnston.

Possible
effect of
the sad
news

"The perspiration came out in large drops on his forehead," says Sherman, "and he did not attempt to conceal his distress. He denounced the act as a disgrace to the age, and hoped I did not charge it to the Confederate government. I told him I could not believe that he, or General Lee, or the officers of the Confederate army, could possibly be privy to acts of assassination; but I would not say as much for Jeff. Davis, George Sanders, and men of that stripe. We talked about the effect of this on the country at large, and on the armies, and he realized that it made my situation extremely delicate. I explained to him that I had not yet revealed the news to my own personal staff or to the army, and that I dreaded the effect when made known in Raleigh. Mr. Lincoln was peculiarly endeared to the soldiers; and I feared that some foolish woman or man in Raleigh might

say something or do something that would madden our men, and that a fate worse than that of Columbia would befall the placè."

1865
April

Johnston, in the conversation which followed, frankly acknowledged that the Confederate cause was lost. For himself, he said, he asked nothing; his anxiety was about his men. Sherman offered him the same terms that Grant had given Lee, but Johnston suggested that instead of a partial suspension of hostilities, they should endeavor to arrange the terms of a permanent peace. He said that if time were granted him, he would see President Davis and get an order from him that all the Confederate armies should disband. Sherman would consent to a delay of one day only, and an appointment was made to meet at the same place the next day noon.

Terms of
sur-
render

When they came together again, Johnston reported that he had not been able to see Davis; but that he had brought Breckenridge, the Confederate Secretary of War, whose orders, he said, would be obeyed as implicitly by the Confederate armies as if issued by Davis himself. Previous to the interview, Sherman had held a council with his different generals, Howard, Slocum, Blair, and Logan; all of whom agreed that Johnston's propositions should be acceded to. Breckenridge offered to order the disbandment, not only of Johnston's army, but the Confederate forces in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, and asked in return what terms would be granted. Sherman answered that he would make terms in accordance

Ready to
disband
the
armies

1865
April

Terms of
the
amnesty
procla-
mation

with President Lincoln's amnesty proclamation; namely, that all of the rank of colonel and under should be pardoned on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the United States; and further, he would agree that every officer and soldier who would return home, observe his parole, and obey the laws, should not be disturbed by the United States authorities. It was finally agreed that a paper should be drawn up embodying the terms of the conversation. Each then signed it, and agreed to make no movement until an answer could be received from Washington.

John-
ston's
army
quickly
scatters

Thousands of Johnston's army, the moment the surrender was known, scattered to their homes, fearing they would be held prisoners of war. Those who remained and received their paroles were furnished with rations from the Federal stores, and given railway transportation to their homes. In the mean time the news of Lincoln's assassination had been imparted to the army, arousing the soldiers to a dangerous pitch of anger and vindictiveness; but unusual precautions had been taken for maintaining order, and no outbreak followed.

In the basis of the agreement drawn up and signed by Sherman and Johnston, matters which belonged to the civil rather than to the military power had been touched upon; but as the agreement was only provisional, a suggestion to the government, without force unless accepted by it, Sherman can hardly be said to have transcended his authority if he grasped at the opportunity to

bring about a cessation of hostilities. The purpose was surely humane; and he was not actuated by vanity. Nor under the circumstances was there any danger of the Confederacy profiting by the delay. But the murder of Lincoln had thrown the whole country into a state of uncontrollable anger and panic. Men of all parties were shocked at the atrocious crime, and at Washington there seemed to be no one capable of meeting the crisis. The public mind was in this condition when Sherman's report of the condition under which Johnston had surrendered was received. Stanton completely lost his head. He wrote to General Dix of New York a dispatch intended for the press, in which he declared that Sherman's agreement was disapproved by the President, by the Secretary of War, by General Grant, and by every member of the Cabinet, and that he had been ordered to resume hostilities immediately. He intimated that Lincoln's order to Grant at the time of Lee's surrender was known to Sherman, and that the latter had been bribed to make terms and to give orders which would allow the Confederate President to escape with his plunder to Mexico or Europe—a libel which even rage cannot excuse. He ended by saying that General Grant had started for North Carolina, to take affairs out of the hands of Sherman and direct operations against Johnston's army.

In the excited state of the country, these assertions and insinuations had a widespread effect. Many of the leading papers denounced Sherman,

1865
April

Confu-
sion at
Washing-
ton

Sher-
man's
action
criticized
by Secre-
tary
Stanton

1865
April

Halleck's
arbitrary
order

Sherman's
ultimatum to
Johnston

and declared his proposed terms inadmissible. No greater outrage could have been perpetrated than the publication of this dispatch, which was written by Stanton without the knowledge of the President or any member of his Cabinet. But worse followed. General Halleck, who had been sent to Richmond to take command of the department after the surrender of Lee, ordered Generals Meade, Sheridan, and Wright to advance into General Sherman's department for military action, and to pay no regard to any orders from Sherman. At the same time, Stanton dispatched orders to Generals Thomas and Wilson, Sherman's own generals, not to obey him. Grant hurried to Raleigh, and with the utmost tact imparted to him the orders of the President, but without telling him of the action of Halleck. Sherman immediately wrote to Johnston: "I am instructed to limit my operations to your immediate command and not to attempt civil negotiations; I therefore demand the surrender of your army on the same terms as were given General Lee at Appomattox on April 9th inst., purely and simply." At the same time he notified Johnston that the truce between them would terminate in forty-eight hours according to agreement.

Sherman
writes to
Stanton

All this time Sherman was ignorant of the publication of his letter to Stanton, and also of the orders issued by the latter to the generals of his department. He wrote to Stanton acknowledging his mistake, saying, "I admit my folly in embracing in a military convention any civil

matter." He proceeded to make all the arrangements necessary to carry into effect the surrender; then hurried to Charleston and Savannah to make similar provisions for that part of his command. It was not until he reached Charleston that he learned through the newspapers, and not through the proper official channels, what had been said and done to his detriment by Stanton and Halleck. Naturally it aroused his anger. He wrote to Grant: "I do think that my rank, if not past services, entitles me at least to the respect of keeping secret what was known to none but the Cabinet till further inquiry could have been made, instead of giving publicity to documents I never saw and drawing inferences wide of the truth." He declared Stanton's act a gross outrage, and said that after his perfidious course towards him he could never confer with him again.

1865
April

Sher-
man's
anger at
Stanton

When his army moved toward Washington it passed through Richmond. Halleck, who had by this time begun to realize his mistake, desired to entertain him; but he sent back word, "I cannot have any friendly intercourse with you." Halleck repeated his invitation, with a half-expressed apology for what he had done. Sherman returned for answer that he considered Halleck's dispatch, rushed by Stanton with indecent haste before an excited public, a display of deadly malignity; and added: "I will march my army through Richmond quietly and in good order, without attracting attention; and I beg you to keep slightly *perdu*, for, if noticed by some of my old command, I

And his
note to
Halleck

1865
April

cannot undertake to maintain a model behavior, for their feelings have become aroused by what the world adjudges an insult to at least an honest commander. If loss of life or violence result from this, you must attribute it to the true cause: a public insult to a brother officer when he was far away on public service, perfectly innocent of the malignant purpose and design."

Sherman
in Wash-
ington

After reaching Washington he said: "Yesterday General Grant and President Johnson, who know all, received me with marked courtesy and warmth. Mr. Stanton dares not come into my presence. He is afraid to meet me. I would not let Halleck review my troops at Richmond. I bade him keep to his room as my army passed through Richmond, and he had to stay indoors. I will insult Stanton in like public manner."

Stan-
ton's lack
of self-
control

At the time of the review in Washington he refused to recognize Stanton. The whole affair was most unfortunate; and had the quarrel happened earlier in the war, it might have been productive of serious consequences. Stanton was of an arbitrary disposition, impatient of control, impulsive, and easily thrown off his balance; but he was an uncompromising patriot, honest, energetic, and from the first a steadfast believer in the ultimate success of the Union cause. Many of his official acts deserve condemnation, but they were always the result of honest conviction. Speaking broadly, it is doubtful whether any other public man of the time would have fulfilled the duties of his position with greater ability.

Lincoln said of him, "Mr. Stanton has excellent qualities, and he has his defects. Folks come up here and tell me that there are a great many men in the country who have all Stanton's excellent qualities without his defects. All I have to say is, I haven't met them; I don't know them; I wish I did."

1865
April-
May

Johnston capitulated on the 26th of April. On the 4th of May, General Dick Taylor surrendered to General Canby all the remaining Confederate forces east of the Mississippi River; and on May 26 General Kirby Smith, in command of the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi, surrendered his entire forces to the same commander. The last conflict of the war occurred near Brazos Santiagos, Texas, on the Rio Grande. It was a small affair, but resulted in a victory for the Confederate party.

Last
engage-
ment of
the war

After the surrender of the Southern armies, drafting and recruiting were stopped, and the work of mustering out the Union soldiers was begun. Meade's army was encamped near Washington, and that of Sherman at Alexandria. Before the departure of the troops for home, the combined armies of Grant and Sherman joined in a grand review, and marched through the streets of the capital before the President and his Cabinet and the chief officers of the army and navy. All the foreign ministers resident in Washington, the governors of the States, and hundreds of distinguished people, were invited to be present. Two days were occupied in the review; the Eastern

Union
forces
mustered
out

Great
review in
Wash-
ington

1865
May

troops marching in procession on the 23d of May, and the Western troops on the day following.

Enthu-
siasm
over the
thrilling
scene

The public buildings and hundreds of private dwellings were decorated with flags and mottoes of welcome. The streets were densely crowded, the marching troops filling Pennsylvania Avenue from curb to curb. Never was there a more magnificent scene of military display. The tattered flags, the gleaming bayonets, the sound of martial music from many bands, the steady tramp of the marching men, aroused the enthusiasm of the spectators to fever heat. The spectators cried, shouted, waved their hats, and cheered. The reviewing-stand was in front of the White House; and as the troops passed, the officers saluted, the President and his Cabinet acknowledging the compliment by rising. The procession of the second day was greeted by a no less enthusiastic crowd than the first. No review of so large a body of troops had ever before taken place in the world.

Honors
to the re-
turning
heroes

The troops then sought their various camps, where they were rapidly paid off and departed for their homes. Each regiment was duly honored on its return to its own State. Triumphal arches were built, bells were rung, and the home-coming soldiers were met with music and banners. Forty years have not dimmed the memories of those days, nor weakened the patriotism of the men who took part in the deeds we have recited. Every year, gatherings are held by the veteran survivors of the war to renew ties of comradeship and to



REVIEW OF TROOPS IN WASHINGTON, 1865.

honor the memory of those who gave up their lives for their country. Every town that sent out its quota of men has its post. The Grand Army of the Republic, formed in 1866, numbers nearly half a million members. National cemeteries have been established on the great battlefields, the graves in which are yearly strewn with flowers, and nearly every town has its soldiers' monument.

During the four years of the war, over 2200 battles and skirmishes were fought. The losses were enormous. On the Union side 44,238 were killed on the field; 49,205 died from the effects of wounds; while 24,000 died from unknown causes. There were over 300 cases of suicide and 143 military executions. The losses by disease were even larger. The Adjutant-General's report gives the number of deaths from disease at 186,216. In the early part of the war many died from homesickness, and thousands perished in the prison camps of the South. Although complete records are lacking, the Confederate losses are believed to have been even larger.

It was often prophesied abroad during the war, that although the United States had raised great armies, they could never be able to return to a peace footing. "The soldiers," they declared, "were masters of the situation. They could never be disbanded." In the report of the Secretary of War in 1866, the entire number of volunteer troops that were mustered out was, on May 1, 1865, 1,034,064. In one year's time 1,023,021 men had been mustered out, paid, and returned to their

1865

Organi-
zation
of the
G. A. R.

Union
losses
during
the war

Mistaken
foreign
proph-
ecies

1865

Speedy
dissolu-
tion of
the army

homes, retaining in service about 11,000 volunteers, white and colored. But for the necessity of retaining a large number of men in service, this work could have been completed within three months' time. The reduction of the army was, of course, attended by a corresponding reduction of expenditures. Thousands of employees were discharged; and within a year from the close of the war 207,000 horses and mules were sold, with about 4400 barracks, hospitals, and other buildings, with nearly a million dollars' worth of clothing and blankets; a fleet of 590 ocean transports, with a daily expense of \$82,000, was reduced to 53 vessels at \$3000 a day; while of 262 vessels employed on the inland waters, at an expense of \$3,200,000, not one was left at the close of the year.

Disposal
of gov-
ernment
military
property

Military railroads operated during the war were transferred to companies or boards of public works for over \$10,000,000. The military telegraph, which attained an extent of over 15,000 miles of lines, constructed during the period of hostilities at an expense of \$3,219,000, was discontinued, the material sold, the employees discharged. Hospital property was disposed of for over \$4,000,000; the sales leaving in the hands of the government a stock of clothing, equipage, quartermasters' and other stores, arms, ammunition, and field artillery sufficient for the immediate equipment of large armies. There was supplied, besides, to disabled soldiers in the first year of the war, nearly 4000 artificial legs, and 2240 arms.

Thus it will be seen that in one year's time these vast armies of more than a million men were paid, mustered out, their wants provided for, and arrangements made for their return home without expense to themselves. The country at once settled down to the same peaceful conditions which existed before the war. One might suppose that in the return of so vast a number of men, the railroad service would have been impeded and the ordinary means of transportation seriously interfered with. On the contrary, the railroads ran their regular trains and generally on schedule time. Nevertheless, this task of transportation was one which taxed to the utmost the abilities both of the government and the railway corporations.

1865

Return
to peace-
ful con-
ditions

In this connection the report of General Meigs, Quartermaster-General, may be of interest. He says:

“During the forty days between the 27th of May and the 6th of July, 233,200 men, 12,823 horses, and 43,000,850 pounds of baggage were moved from Washington by the Washington Branch Railroad to the Relay House, where a large portion of them turned westward; the remainder passed through Baltimore, dividing at that city into two streams, one of which moved north through Harrisburg, the other northeast through Philadelphia. Of the above number, 96,000 men and 10,000 horses were in the short space of forty days moved from Washington on the Potomac across the Alleghanies, and, ascending the Mississippi, were placed in the several positions to which they had been ordered.

Activity
in the
capital

“Thus, nearly a quarter of a million of men and more than 12,000 horses, with more than four millions of pounds of baggage, were moved from Washington to the posts ordered, or distributed to every hamlet and village of the

1865 States north of the Potomac and the Ohio rivers, and restored to their homes, the labor of war over, to return to the pursuits of peaceful industry which they had left at the call of their country in her hour of need."

It was June 13, 1865, when the President proclaimed the war at an end in Tennessee; almost a year later he announced peace except in Texas; and, August 20, 1866, another proclamation declared that "peace, order, and tranquility now exist in and throughout the whole of the United States of America."

CHAPTER CVI.

FIRST STEPS IN RECONSTRUCTION

On the 14th of April, 1865, Lincoln held his last Cabinet meeting. By invitation, General Grant was present; he expressed his anxiety at not receiving news from Sherman, who was then at Raleigh, N. C. The President seemed to have no fears, and said: "I have no doubt that favorable news will come soon; for I had last night my usual dream, which has preceded nearly every important event of the war. I seemed to be in a singular and indescribable vessel, but always the same, and to be moving with great rapidity toward a dark and indefinite shore."

1865
April 14

Lincoln's
last
Cabinet
meeting

His
singular
dream

The special subject of the meeting was the consideration of the work of reconstruction. During the discussion the President said: "I think it providential that this great rebellion is crushed just as Congress has adjourned, and there are none of the disturbing elements of that body to hinder and embarrass us. If we are wise and discreet, we shall reanimate the States and get their governments in successful operation, with order prevailing, and the Union reëstablished, before Congress comes together in December. I hope there will be no prosecution, no bloody work, after the war is over. No one need expect me to take any part in

Discus-
sion of
recon-
struction

1865

April

Express-
sion of
good will

hanging or killing those men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, open the gates, let down the bars, scare them off. Enough lives have been sacrificed; we must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union. There is too much of a desire on the part of some of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere with and dictate to those States, to treat the people not as fellow-citizens; there is too little respect for their rights. I do not sympathize in these feelings." He referred to General Lee in the kindest terms, as well as others among the Confederate leaders, and spoke hopefully of the reëstablishment of government in Virginia.

The Pres-
ident's
idea re-
garding
State
govern-
ment

In preparing his message of December 8, 1863, he said: "The discussion as to whether a State has been at any time out of the Union is vain and profitless. We know they were, we trust they shall be, in the Union. It does not greatly matter whether, in the mean time, they shall be considered to have been in or out." This paragraph he canceled. His plan, however, was this: "If each of the qualified voters, according to the election laws before the secession of any one or all of the Confederate States, shall take an oath of fealty to the Constitution, and of abidance by the acts of Congress and the proclamations of the President having reference to slavery, and they shall re-establish a State government, such shall be recognized as 'the true government of the States.' This was objected to by the radical Republicans; who approved rather a bill introduced in the

House in February, 1864, by Henry Winter Davis, which required a majority of the white male citizens to constitute the new State, and exacted that their constitution should prohibit slavery forever. Neither the plan of the President nor that of Mr. Davis made any provision for negro suffrage.

1864
July

The views of Congress on the subject of reconstruction were embodied for the first time in a bill passed July 4, 1864, which contained in substance the following provisions: It declared the eleven States which passed secession ordinances "rebellious communities," and authorized the President to appoint a provisional governor for each, which governor should exercise all the powers of civil government until a permanent State government should be recognized by Congress. Each provisional governor was also ordered, whenever the rebellion in his State should be suppressed, to direct the United States marshal to enroll all the white male citizens of the United States resident within the State, and give them the opportunity to take a prescribed oath of allegiance to the United States. When a majority of such citizens should take this oath, they might be permitted to elect delegates to a convention, which convention might take action for the establishment of State government. All persons who had held any office, civil or military, State or Confederate, in rebellion against the United States, or who had voluntarily borne arms against the United States, were disqualified from voting for delegates or from being elected as delegates to the convention.

Declara-
tion of
Congress
upon
recon-
struction

1864

Pro-
visions
neces-
sary
thereto

It was provided that the convention thus elected might form a State constitution: but that that constitution should contain provisions abolishing slavery; repudiating all debts, State or Confederate, created by or under the sanction of the usurping power; and disqualifying all persons who had held civil or military office under the usurping power, excepting civil offices merely ministerial, and military offices below the rank of colonel, from voting or being elected governor or member of the legislature.

How
represent-
ation
was to be
securedSlavery
abolished

The constitutions formed by these conventions were to be submitted to the voters; and if ratified by a majority thereof, the provisional governor should so certify to the President. The bill then provided that the President, with the consent of Congress, should declare the new State government as established; after which Representatives and Senators in Congress and Presidential electors might be chosen in said State. The final clause of the bill abolished slavery at once in all the States, and imposed penalties upon all persons attempting thereafter to hold any one in involuntary servitude; and declared all persons who should thereafter hold office, civil or military, State or Confederate, in the rebel service, except an office purely ministerial or under the grade of colonel, not to be citizens of the United States.

It will be seen by this that Congress did not recognize the seceded sections of the country as States of the Union, but as territories or districts subject to the exclusive authority of the central



BENJAMIN WADE.



HENRY W. DAVIS.

government; accepting the theory that they had lost through secession the former powers and functions of regularly organized State governments, but were still in the Union as territory inhabited by a people disorganized as to local government.

1864

Status of
seceded
States

This bill was in sharp opposition to the ideas of President Lincoln, who allowed the session to expire without signing it. He issued, however, four days later, a proclamation, in which he stated his objections to the setting aside of the free State constitutions and governments already adopted and installed in Arkansas and Louisiana. He declared his doubts as to the competency of Congress to abolish slavery within the States, and expressed his hope and expectation that this might be done for the whole country by Constitutional amendment. He stated his willingness to have the loyal people in any of the rebellious States reconstruct their governments upon the Congressional plan if they should choose to do so, but declared his unwillingness to commit himself inflexibly to any single plan of restoration.

The Pres-
ident's
procla-
tion

Congress had adjourned before the issue of this proclamation, and could therefore make no immediate answer; but Congressmen Benjamin Wade and Henry Winter Davis issued a signed protest over their own names, which was printed in the *New York Tribune*, August 5. It was undignified in temper and manner. It declared the proclamation to be a "studied outrage"; that Mr. Lincoln had "greatly presumed on the forbearance

A
protest

1864-5

which the supporters of his administration had so long practiced in view of the arduous conflict in which they were engaged, and the reckless ferocity of their political opponents, and that he must confine himself to his executive duties and leave political reorganization to Congress.”

Lincoln's
message
to
Congress

This intemperate document caused Mr. Davis the loss of a renomination to Congress. Notwithstanding his triumph, the President made no reference to it in his message of December 6, 1864. He simply stated that loyal State governments had been organized in the States of Arkansas and Louisiana with free constitutions, and were honestly and earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them. He referred also to movements in the same direction in Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee, while Maryland was already secured to liberty and union for all the future. His great desire was to see the adoption of a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery in the United States forever. Legislation on this point was strongly urged.

Begin-
ning of
dis-
cussion

On the 21st of February a bill was introduced in the House “to guarantee to certain States, whose governments have been usurped or overthrown, a republican form of government.” This was the entering wedge in the great struggle over the subject of reconstruction. Representative James M. Ashley, who had charge of the matter, found that the majority of the House were unable to agree; and the matter was dropped. In the Senate, the plan, as suggested by the President and embodied

in the House bill, met with strong opposition from the radical Republicans, led by Sumner. The discussion came up over the case of Louisiana.

1864

One year before, under direction of the President, General Banks had ordered an election of State officers in Louisiana. Michael Hahn, the governor-elect, was invested with the powers exercised hitherto by the military governor. The election took place on the 22d of February, 1864. Delegates to the constitutional convention were chosen, and on the 6th of April they met in New Orleans. By a vote of 72 to 13 they abolished slavery forever, without compensation to the owners of the slaves. Suffrage was restricted to white males, but the Legislature was given power to confer it on colored men according to the suggestions made by the President. The ratification of this constitution showed a heavy falling off from the vote cast at the State election.

New
State
govern-
ment in
Louisiana

Of this convention and election, the President said: "A very fair proportion of the people of Louisiana have inaugurated a new State government, making an excellent new constitution, better for the poor black man than we have in Illinois. This was done under military protection directed by me; in the belief that with such a nucleus around which to build, we could get the State into position again sooner than otherwise."

Procured
under
military
protection

On the 24th of February Senator Trumbull, as chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a joint resolution recognizing this as the legitimate government of the State of Louisiana.

1864

Had it not been for Senator Sumner, the bill would have passed the Senate by a clear majority. It became clear that no vote could be secured, and the resolution was laid aside.

Differ-
ences of
opinion
between
Lincoln
and
Sumner

The difference between the President and Sumner was the latter's insistence that the right of suffrage should be conferred upon the negroes, on the same condition as on the whites, before the States should be readmitted to the Union; and that, instead of the President's doing the work of reconstruction by military order, Congress should do it by law. Sumner insisted on negro suffrage without qualification. Lincoln favored bringing moral instead of legal pressure to bear, to induce the States to give the right of voting to intelligent negroes and to those who had served in the army. In support of his view the President said:

The Pres-
ident's
state-
ment

"We all agree that the seceded States, so-called, are out of their proper practical relation with the Union; and that the sole object of the government, civil and military, in regard to those States is to again get them into that proper practical relation. I believe that it is not only possible, but in fact easier, to do this without deciding or even considering whether these States have ever been out of the Union, than with it. Finding themselves safely at home, it would be utterly immaterial whether they had ever been abroad. . . . The amount of the constituency, so to speak, on which the new Louisiana government rests, would be more satisfactory to all if it contained 50,000, or 30,000, or even 20,000, instead of only 12,000, as it does. It is also unsatisfactory to some that the elective franchise is not given to the colored man. I would myself prefer that it were now conferred on the very intelligent, and on those who serve our cause as soldiers.

“Still, the question is not whether the Louisiana government, as it stands, is quite all that is desirable. The question is, Will it be wiser to improve it, or to reject and disperse it? Can Louisiana be brought into proper, practical relations with the Union sooner by sustaining or by discarding her new State government? Some 12,000 voters in the heretofore slave State of Louisiana have sworn allegiance to the Union, assumed to be the rightful political power of the State, held elections, organized a State government, adopted a free-State constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white, and empowering the Legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man. Their Legislature has already voted to ratify the Constitutional amendment recently passed by Congress, abolishing slavery throughout the nation. These 12,000 persons are thus fully committed to the Union and to perpetual freedom in the State,—committed to the very things, and nearly all the things, the nation wants,—and they ask the nation’s recognition and its assistance to make good their committal. Now, if we reject and spurn them, we do our utmost to disorganize and disperse them. We, in effect, say to the white man: You are worthless or worse; we will never help you nor be helped by you. To the blacks we say: This cup of liberty which these, your old masters, hold to your lips we will dash from you, and leave you to the chances of gathering the spilled and scattered contents in some vague and undefined when, where, and how. Concede that the new government of Louisiana is only what it should be,—as the egg is to the fowl,—we shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it. . . . What has been said of Louisiana will apply generally to other States. . . . In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper.”

1864

Endorse-
ment of
Louisiana's
new
State
government

Loyal
citizens
deserv-
ing of aid

Both Houses had refused to admit members from the reconstructed States; and, on February 4, they passed a joint resolution prohibiting the

1864

Electoral
votes not
to be
counted

counting of any electoral votes for President and Vice-President in the election of 1864 from States which had passed the secession ordinance. Elections had been held in Louisiana and Tennessee, and this resolution was intended to prevent the counting of the votes which might be sent in from those States. After some hesitation, this resolution was approved by the President.

Lincoln's
views of
the
question

In doing this, however, he informed Congress that his approval was given out of deference to their views, and saying that in his own view the two Houses of Congress, convened under the twelfth article of the Constitution, had complete power to exclude from counting all electoral votes deemed by them to be illegal, and it was not competent for the Executive to defeat or obstruct that power by a veto, as would be the case if his action were at all essential in the matter. He disclaimed the rights of the Executive to interfere in any way in the matter of canvassing or counting electoral votes, and also declared that in signing said resolution he expressed no opinion on the recitals of the preamble, or any judgment of his own upon the subject of the resolution.

Louisiana, which had fulfilled the President's conditions of reconstruction, was thus precluded from her supposed rights; as well as Tennessee, where, by order of Governor Andrew Johnson, an election of electors had been held. At the time of the counting of the electoral vote, Tennessee had not completed the process of reconstruction. A constitutional convention met at Nashville,

January 3. The constitution it adopted was based upon that of before the war. It required a severe test oath for all persons voting upon the adoption of the amendment, which not only declared loyalty to the Constitution of the United States, but declared that the taker was an active enemy of the so-called Confederacy. The vote upon the constitution occurred on the 22d of February, and the election of the governor and Legislature on March 4.

1865

New
consti-
tution in
Ten-
nessee

The fact that the President had signed the measure was not known to Congress until after the counting of the votes had been finished; but that body met the exigency by the enactment of a joint rule, in accordance with which the consent of both Houses was required to count an electoral vote from any State, or any body or place professing to be a State. The votes, meanwhile, from the two States were in the possession of Vice-President Hamlin, who held it to be his duty not to present them. There was no occasion, therefore, to put the joint rule in operation.

Congress
passes
joint rule

The basis of reorganization in Tennessee was the men who had remained loyal throughout the rebellion, and did not include rehabilitated citizens. The vote was upon a new constitution which contained clauses abolishing slavery, nullifying secession, and repudiating the debt created in aid of the rebellion. On the 25th of February, Governor Johnson declared the new constitution adopted. William G. Brownlow, popularly known as "Parson" Brownlow, was elected governor, and

Clauses
of the
new con-
stitution

1865

was inaugurated April 7. On that day the military régime in Tennessee was formally ended.

Bill
abol-
ishing
slavery

It had become quite evident to the President and the Republican leaders in Congress, that few of the seceded States would abolish slavery by their own act, and that it could only be effected by a Constitutional amendment. On January 11, Senator John B. Henderson of Missouri presented a bill, the first clause of which read, "Slavery or involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime, shall not exist in the United States." When it came back from the Judiciary Committee, to which it had been referred, it had been amended to read, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction; and Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." This resolution passed the Senate on the 8th of April. It was sent to the House, where it failed of the requisite two-thirds majority. On the last day of January, Representative Ashley of Ohio moved its reconsideration, and the resolution was carried. The proposed amendment was sent to the President, who signed it the following day. A concurrent resolution was signed by both Houses, authorizing the President to submit the proposed article of amendment to the States for ratification. The Secretary of State was instructed to forward copies to the legislatures of each of the several States. The first

Amend-
ment sub-
mitted
to the
States

to ratify it was the Legislature of Tennessee, on April 5.

1865

With the death of President Lincoln, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, late military governor of that State, assumed the duties of President. Mr. Johnson was a man of strong and conflicting qualities. He came from what is known as the poor white class in North Carolina, and was bred among influences which were not calculated to fit him for social prominence. It is said that he never attended school a day in his life. When he was ten years old he was apprenticed to a tailor, with whom he served six years amid the commonest surroundings. Notwithstanding these conditions, he had the ambition for higher things which the United States almost alone gives opportunity to gratify. He learned to read, and, at the age of eighteen, married a woman socially superior to himself, to whom he owed much of his success in after life. She read to him while he was at work, and taught him to write and cipher. When he was twenty years old he became the workingman's candidate for alderman in the little town of Greenville, Tennessee; and, having natural abilities as a speaker, he gained prominence on the board, and became in turn alderman, mayor, and member of the Legislature. When he was thirty-five years old he was sent as Representative to Congress, where he served for ten years. Afterwards he served two terms as governor of Tennessee, and in the year 1857 was elected to the United States Senate.

Early life

Ambition

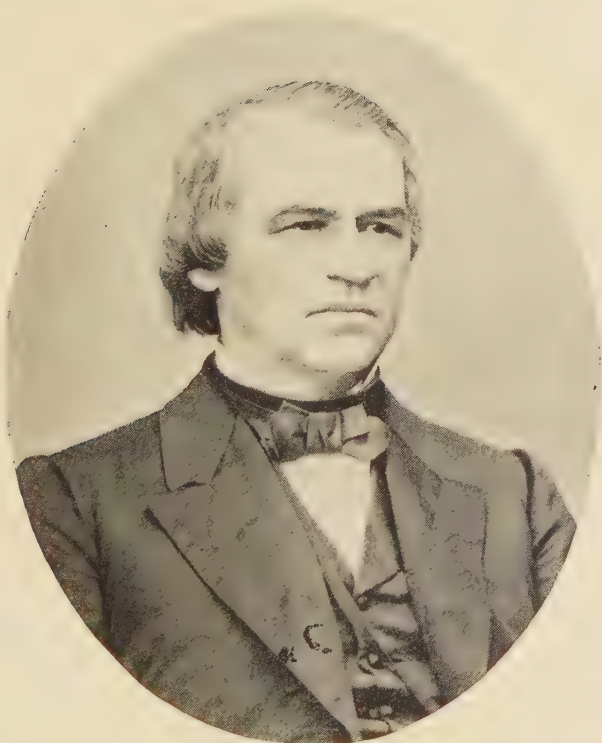
And
political
rise of
Johnson

1865

Loyal to
the
UnionMilitary
governor
of Ten-
nessee

By the other Southern Senators at Washington, he was looked upon with mingled contempt and indifference. He felt strongly the social neglect which he had suffered in his own section at the hands of what he called the "aristocracy"; and his natural sympathy with his own class, and aversion to the ideas of the socially superior one, were greatly strengthened by it. His politics were in fact those of the mountain democracy, though he supported State rights. He was intensely loyal; and, at the breaking out of the rebellion, declared in the Senate that if he were President he "would have the Southern leaders arrested and tried for treason, and, if convicted, executed." When Tennessee went with the Confederacy, Johnson remained in the Senate, espousing the Union cause. When he became military governor of Tennessee in March, 1862, he discharged his duties with courage and efficiency. The office he held, required, at the time, great physical courage and readiness to meet exigencies. He was often put to the test, and never failed. Up to this time his habits had been correct. Whether from the stress of his position or an inherited taint, he now developed a passion for drink, which he seemed at times unable to control.

The assassination of Lincoln affected him deeply. He believed it was the result of a deliberate plan on the part of the Confederate authorities. His own death had been decided upon by the conspirators, and his escape from it was a matter of accident. This fact added to the new



ANDREW JOHNSON.

President's determination to show no mercy towards those who were actively engaged or who sympathized in the plot.

1865
April

While the assassination of the President was a terrible shock, the radical Republicans in Congress felt that Johnson would favor them. They would now have their own way, and his vindictive feelings would reinforce their vindictive action. On the day after the assassination, several of their leaders called upon Johnson, and it is reported that Wade exclaimed, "We have faith in you. By the gods! there will be no trouble now in running the government!" On which the President answered, "Treason is a crime; and crime must be punished. Treason must be made infamous; and traitors must be impoverished." But with this feeling, there was also a fear among the radicals that Johnson would enter upon a policy of reconstruction too extreme and bloody even for their support. Johnson retained Lincoln's Cabinet, which favored a temperate policy.

Radical
Repub-
licans
welcome
the
change

Some
fear of
the new
Presi-
dent's
policy

At the close of the war the seceded States were in a state of utter exhaustion. They protracted their struggle against Federal authority until further resistance was impossible, and laid down their arms only because there was no longer any power to use them. They were bankrupt in their public finances and shorn of their private property. They were in a state of anarchy, without governments, and not allowed the power to frame governments except by the permission of Federal authorities.

Con-
dition of
seceded
States

1865
April-
May

It was the duty of the President, under these conditions, to establish, as far as possible, such a system of government as might be provided for by existing national laws, or army regulations, to restore order, to preserve property, and to protect the people against violence from any quarter until provision could be made by law for their government.

Procla-
mation of
pardon

In each of the seceded States the late leaders of the rebellion were working for political rehabilitation. A proclamation of amnesty and pardon was issued on the 29th of May, to all persons lately engaged in rebellion, who had failed to take advantage of Lincoln's proclamations of December 8, 1863, and March 26, 1864. This pardon was made dependent upon taking the following oath:

The oath
required

"I do solemnly swear, or affirm, in the presence of almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and that I will in like manner abide by and faithfully support all laws and proclamations which have been made during the existing rebellion with reference to the emancipation of slaves. So help me God."

There were certain exceptions, however; they included:

Excep-
tions

1. Those who were holding, or had held, under the Confederate government, civil or diplomatic office or agency, or military office above the rank of colonel in the army and lieutenant in the navy, or military or naval office of any grade,

if educated by the United States in the military academy at West Point or the United States Naval Academy, and all those who were holding, or had held, the office of governor of a State in insurrection against the United States.

1865
May

2. Those who had left seats in the Congress of the United States, or judicial stations under the United States, to aid in the rebellion against the United States, and those who had resigned or tendered resignations of their commissions in the army or navy of the United States, to evade duty in resisting the rebellion.

The
several
classes

3. Those who had in any way treated persons found in the service of the United States in any capacity otherwise than lawful prisoners of war.

4. Those who had been engaged in destroying the commerce of the United States on the high seas, or upon the lakes and rivers separating the British provinces from the United States, or in making raids from Canada into the United States.

5. Those who were, or had been, absent from the United States, or had left their homes within the jurisdiction of the United States, and passed beyond the military lines of the United States into the Confederate States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion.

Not
included
in the
amnesty

6. Those who, at the time they might seek to obtain the benefits of the proclamation by taking the oath, were prisoners of war or under civil or criminal arrest; and those who had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States since December 8, 1863, and had failed to keep it.

1865
May-
July

And finally, those who had voluntarily participated in any way in the rebellion, and were the owners of taxable property to the value of more than \$20,000.

Constitutional
convention in
North
Carolina

On the day of the issue of this proclamation, a second was published appointing a provisional governor for North Carolina, who was authorized to cause the election of delegates to a constitutional convention, for the reconstruction of the State and its restoration to its constitutional relations to the United States. It also commanded the heads of the department of the United States government to put the laws of the United States into operation in North Carolina, the United States judges to open the courts, and the military officers in the district to assist the governor in his duties.

Reconstruction
in
several
States

Thus far Mr. Johnson's plan of reconstruction did not differ from that of the late President. It recognized the permanent character of the States, and their existence as such through the four years of war. On June 13, a similar proclamation was issued, looking to the reconstruction of Mississippi; on the 17th, for the reconstruction of Georgia; on the 21st, for the reconstruction of Alabama; on the 30th, for the reconstruction of South Carolina; and on the 13th of July, for the reconstruction of Florida.

CHAPTER CVII.

PROGRESS OF RECONSTRUCTION

Nearly a month before the issue of the proclamation of the amnesty, the President had published an executive order putting the laws of the United States in operation in Virginia, and promising the support of the United States government to Governor Pierpont in all lawful measures for the administration of the State government in Virginia; thus recognizing the loyal State government which had, throughout the troubles, kept up a show of existence. By this recognition on the part of the President, Virginia escaped the hampering conditions of reconstruction which obtained in the other seceded States.

On the 9th of May, the draft of the plan for the provisional government, which had already been discussed by Lincoln and his advisers, was laid before the Cabinet. One of its conditions was, that all loyal citizens might take part in the election of delegates to the State convention for the adoption of new State constitutions. The question was raised as to what was meant by the phrase "loyal citizens." The reply was, "Negroes as well as white men." Each member of the Cabinet submitted by agreement his individual opinion. Stanton, the Secretary of War; Dennison, the

1865
April-
May

Affairs in
Virginia

Looking
to pro-
visional
govern-
ment

1865

Discus-
sion of
the ques-
tion of
suffrage

Postmaster-General, and Speed, the Attorney-General, believed that negro suffrage should be imposed on the State by Federal authority. McCulloch, the Secretary of the Treasury; Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, and Usher, the Secretary of the Interior, asserted that this was beyond the power of the Federal government to do; and that in the proclamation of amnesty and reconstruction of December 8, 1863, it was agreed by the President and his Cabinet that the question of suffrage belonged to the States. The feeling on this point, both in and out of the Cabinet, was strong. General Sherman wrote to Secretary Chase, "To give all loyal negroes the same political status as white voters, will revive the war." General Schofield declared that the negroes, as a class, were absolutely unfit for the suffrage. "They can neither read nor write," he continued. "They have no knowledge whatever of law or government. They do not even know the meaning of the freedom that has been given them, and are much astonished when informed that it does not mean that they are to live in idleness and be fed by the government." Later, Sherman wrote: "I never heard a negro ask for the vote, and I think it would be his ruin. I believe the whole idea of giving votes to the negroes is to create just that many votes to be used by others for political uses; because I believe the negro doesn't want to vote now, when he is mixed up with the whites in nearly equal proportion, making the partnership dangerous."

The
status of
the freed-
man

President Johnson was convinced that to prescribe the rule of suffrage was not within the legitimate scope of his power, and there was no precedent to justify him in taking the course urged upon him by Sumner and Chase. The issue of his proclamation created consternation in the radical ranks. It was the direct opposite of what they had expected and depended upon, but for the most part it was approved by the people.

1865

Johnson
surprises
his
friends

The first convention to assemble in accordance with the provisions of the proclamation, was that of Mississippi. It was held on August 21 and 22, and declared that the secession ordinance of January, 1861, was now void. In a telegram to the provisional governor, the President urged the delegates to extend the elective franchise to all negroes who could read and write, and to all who owned real estate to the value of not less than \$250. This plan, however, was rejected.

The first
con-
vention

On the 13th of September, the convention of South Carolina met in Charleston, and repealed the ordinance of secession by a vote of 107 to 3. Slavery was declared abolished, but there was a long and heated discussion as to the assumption of the Confederate war debt. The provisional governor said that "in South Carolina all are guilty of aiding the rebellion, and no one can complain of being taxed to pay the trifling debt incurred by his own assent in perfect good faith. There is no power in the Legislature of repudiating the debt, if it were possible to separate it from the other debts of the State. Even then it would

Action in
South
Carolina

1865 fall on widows and orphans, whose estates were invested in it for safety."

In North
Carolina

The feeling was equally strong in the North Carolina convention against the repudiation of the debt. Considerable pressure was brought to bear by the President, who made it the condition to restoration: "Every dollar of the debt created to aid the rebellion against the United States should be repudiated finally and forever." As to the act of secession, the convention declared, "The said ordinance is now, and at all times hath been, null and void."

Alabama
acts
quickly

The Alabama convention made quick work of what it had to do. In one day it abolished slavery, declared the ordinance of secession null and void, and repudiated the State's war debt.

Georgia
conven-
tion
halts at
repudia-
tion

The Georgia convention met October 30, and at once repealed the ordinance of secession and abolished slavery; but with this provision, "That acquiescence in the action of the government of the United States is not intended to operate as a relinquishment or waiver or estoppel of such claim for a compensation of loss sustained by reason of the emancipation of his slaves, as any citizen of Georgia may hereafter make upon the justice and magnanimity of the government." Upon the question of the repudiation of the war debt, a heated discussion arose which seemed incapable of settlement. Provisional Governor Johnson telegraphed the President, asking what the convention should do; to which the following answer was returned:

“The people of Georgia should not hesitate one single moment in repudiating every single dollar of debt created for the purpose of aiding the rebellion against the government of the United States. It will not do to levy and collect taxes from a State and people that are loyal and in the Union, to pay a debt that was created to aid in an effort to take them out and thereby subvert the Constitution of the United States. Those who invested their capital in the creation of this debt must meet their fate, and take it as one of the inevitable results of the rebellion. It should at once be made known at home and abroad that no debt contracted for the purpose of dissolving the Union of the States can, or ever will be, paid by taxes levied upon the people for such a purpose.”

1865
Nov.-Dec.

Johnson
counsels
repudia-
tion

In Florida, the convention met October 25, devoting the first session to organization. Two days later, the secession ordinance was annulled. On November 6, slavery was declared abolished, “having been destroyed in the State by the government of the United States.” An ordinance was passed giving colored people the right to testify in all cases where the person or property of such person was involved, but denying the right to testify where the interest of the white class was at stake. The State war debt was repudiated the same day.

Florida
falls in
line

The Legislature, which met December 28, ratified the antislavery amendment with the following declaratory resolution:

1865 Resolved, That this amendment to the Constitution of the United States is adopted by the Legislature of the State of Florida with the understanding that it does not confer upon Congress the power to legislate upon the political status of the freedmen in this State.

Texas abolishes, annuls, and repudiates
The Texas convention met in March, 1866, abolished slavery, annulled the secession ordinance, and repudiated the war debt. It made the white population the basis of representation for State purposes. An ordinance was also passed exempting all persons who, under authority of civil or military power, had inflicted injury on persons during the war from accountability therefor.

Ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment
The different conventions ordered elections for the Legislature and other State officers and for members of Congress, which were duly held. When the Legislatures met, the President required that they should ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery. South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia acceded to the request without hesitation; but Mississippi refused her assent. It was not necessary, however, as the eight reconstructed States, added to the other States of the Union which had ratified it, made the requisite number.

On the 18th of December, a proclamation was issued by the Secretary of State, by order of the President, declaring that the Thirteenth Amendment had become "valid as part of the Constitution of the United States." The refusal of Mississippi to ratify it, and occurrences in Georgia and North

Carolina, had a mischievous effect. In Georgia, A. H. Stephens, the Confederate Vice-President, had been talked of as a candidate for the United States Senate. The President wrote to the military commander in Georgia: "It would be exceedingly impolitic for Mr. Stephens' name to be used in connection with the Senatorial election. He would not be permitted to take his seat; or, in other words, he could not take the oath required. He stands charged with treason, and no disposition has been made of his case. There seems in many of the elections something like defiance, which is all out of place at this time."

1865

A. H.
Stephens
as a
possible
candi-
date

In the mean time the President had not restored the privilege of *habeas corpus* in the different States or in the District of Columbia, and he reserved the right to have military control therein in case of necessity. He recognized the fact that without the military power to sustain the new State governments, there might be danger of freshly organized resistance.

Habeas
corpus
not
restored

It was hardly to be expected that the South would at once accept and practice and live up to the provisions laid down for the reëstablishment of new conditions. Southern extremists were, in certain localities, as unreasonable and impracticable as the radicals of the North. In the first year after the war the different Southern State legislatures enacted laws in regard to the freedmen, bestowing upon them certain civil rights which were nearly neutralized by other legislation. The negroes were given power to sue and be sued,

Slow
accept-
ance of
changed
con-
ditions

1865

Limitations
imposed
upon the
freedmen

and to testify in cases where their own race was concerned. Their testimony, however, was not allowed against a white person. They were not allowed the right to vote, to hold office, to serve on juries, or in the militia; and they were subject to more severe penalties than the whites for commission of the same crime. They were forbidden to assemble; their freedom of movement was restricted; they were not allowed to carry or own arms; while the laws governing vagrancy and contract labor were such as might have constituted the former condition of slavery, except that they could not be sold. But they could be whipped at discretion of the employers; hunted down and reclaimed to contracts by them, chained up by them, could not hold any city employments, and by law, aided by general understanding, each planter was to have his own old negroes back.

Their
false
ideas re-
garding
freedom

Some of these laws, hard as they seemed to people at the North, were really necessary for the conservation of peace and safety. Large numbers of slaves on some plantations were hardly above animals in intellectual development. There was a general impression among them that the government was going to give each of them forty acres of land and a mule, the land coming from a division of the plantations of their old masters. This belief aggravated the native laziness and improvidence of the race. Feeling that they were to be provided for, they refused to work, and wandered about from place to place, supporting themselves as best they could, often by theft.

There was a continual fear of insurrection in some of the States of the South, also, which led to harsh legislation. These conditions could not be understood at the North, and were made a continual topic of condemnation by Northern political leaders. There was no hatred of the negro as such in the South, but it was not believed that he could rise in the scale of civilization further than he had, and the idea of possible political or social equality was abhorrent.

1865

Fear of
uprising
prev-
alent

At the Georgia convention, Herschel V. Johnson, as its president, in his address said: "We are now to enter upon the experiment whether our former slaves can be organized into efficient and trustworthy laborers. That may be done, or I hope it may be done, if we are left to ourselves. If we cannot succeed, others need not attempt it." Governor Jenkins, in his inaugural address in December, 1865, said: "Whilst you strong men were in the tented field, far away from unprotected wives and children, the negro cultivated their lands, tended their households, and rendered all servile observances as when surrounded by the usual controlling agencies. As the governing class, individually and collectively, we owe them unbounded kindness, and thorough protection. Their rights of person and property should be made perfectly secure, and the courts must be open to them."

Faithful-
ness of
the
slaves
in war-
time

A month later, Alexander H. Stephens, late Vice-President of the Confederacy, said, in an address to the Georgia Legislature: "Ample and

1866

Ste-
phens'
utter-
ance

full protection should be secured to the negroes, so that they may stand equal before the law in the possession and enjoyment of all rights of person, liberty, and property. Consider their fidelity in times past: they cultivated your fields, ministered to your personal wants and comforts, nursed and reared your children, and even in the hour of danger and peril they were, in the main, true to you and yours. To them we owe a debt of gratitude as well as acts of kindness."

Georgia
grants
freedmen
legal
rights

These utterances had their effect. Within a month the Legislature of Georgia passed a law giving persons of color all the legal rights enjoyed by the whites; and declared that they should not be subjected to any other or different punishments, pains, or penalty for the commission of any act or offense than such as were prescribed for white persons. General Sheridan wrote from New Orleans: "The best thing that Congress or State can do is to legislate as little as possible in reference to the colored man, beyond giving him security in his person and property. His social status will be worked out by the logic of the necessity for his labor." Advanced thinkers in the South were not averse to the idea of limited suffrage. Mallory, who had been the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, said: "I know many negroes whom I would trust with the ballot, and the number will steadily increase; and they must, at some distant day, become voters under certain qualifications." And Stephens said: "Individually, I should not at all be opposed to a proper

Limited
suffrage
favored
by some

system of restricted or limited suffrage to the negroes.”

1865

On the 3d of March, 1865, Congress passed an act organizing a Bureau in the War Department for the care of refugees and freedmen in the States in rebellion, or in the territory embraced in the operations of the army. When this Bureau was established, the condition of the colored people in the Southern States was deplorable; except in districts occupied by the national forces and brought into some degree of order by military commanders, the utmost confusion prevailed. The whole social system of the South was shattered. The wisest and the calmest men were uncertain what to do or what to hope. The great mass were wild with excitement or were paralyzed by despair. Thousands of colored people, suddenly set free, crowded into cities and villages to seek charity or sympathy and advice. Others in great numbers were collected in camps or on deserted farms, with little shelter or clothing or food. Many were sick and many dying for want of care. Some 20,000 of these wretched refugees were in the District of Columbia alone; over 100,000 in Virginia, 50,000 in North Carolina, and as many more in the other seceded States. Their miseries were increased by ignorance and anxiety concerning their new relations, by dread of vengeance from their former masters, should they be compelled to return to their former homes, and by vague expectations of some great government project for their benefit by the distribution of confiscated lands.

Organiza
tion of
Bureau
for care
of freed-
men

Their
situation
a deplo-
rable one

1865

Mission
of the
Freed-
men's
Bureau

At this period, and amid such circumstances of confusion and social anarchy, the Freedmen's Bureau was called into being; and to it was committed the gigantic work of protecting the weak against injustice; organizing labor and finding employment at fair wages for four millions just freed from slavery; feeding and clothing the destitute; providing hospitals for the sick, homes for the orphans, asylums for the old, and schools for all. Major-General O. O. Howard was placed in charge of the Bureau immediately upon its organization. He appointed his assistant commissioners, with orders to protect the colored refugees from abuse, and authorized them to adjudicate all difficulties arising between the negroes and whites in cases where justice could not be obtained through the civil courts.

Bureau
courts es-
tablished

In the execution of these orders, the officers stationed in the late Confederate States were obliged to institute a great variety of means and expedients. As far as possible, they brought cases before the civil tribunals; but as the magistrates and judges would not regard colored men as equals before the law with whites, Bureau courts were established, with provost courts and boards of arbitration for the settlement of ordinary complaints. When cases of capital crime and felony occurred, however, an appeal was made to the military commanders to convene military commissions for their trial. The number of cases brought before these courts is almost incredible; the majority of them, however, were of a petty character



GENERAL O. O. HOWARD.

and easily disposed of. The official records show that more than 100,000 cases were heard and acted upon by the Bureau officers in a single year.

1865

But this work was of little importance, compared to that in the way of the prevention of acts of violence and oppression; nor can any calculation be made of the scenes of strife and insurrection which the whole South might have presented, without the presence of this agency of the government to preserve order and enforce justice. The change from slave to free labor was so sudden and so great that all classes of people were at first bewildered. Plantation owners believed that all industry and prosperity were at an end. They had no confidence in a negro's willingness to work for wages and without compulsion. On the other hand, the freedmen were desirous of testing the reality of their freedom by leaving their former owners, and were inclined to distrust the intentions of men who had always enjoyed the fruits of their toil without compensation.

Benef-
icent
effects
of the
Bureau

The first duty of the Bureau officer was to remove, if possible, this mutual suspicion and distrust. To do this, it was everywhere proclaimed in printed circulars and public addresses that labor was a man's own property. He had the right to dispose of it as he saw fit, and was free to make his own bargains. Hence, no orders were issued nor were any systems approved for the purpose of regulating wages. The commissioner and his assistants refused to adopt any system of compulsory labor or to enforce a specific rate of wages;

Teacher
of a new
gospel

1865

Practical
help

but beyond that, no encouragement was given by the Bureau to idlers. All able-bodied men were told that they must seek employment and earn their own living. They were instructed in the matter of making contracts, and advised to secure wages by taking liens upon the crops raised by their labor.

Experi-
ment of
free labor
gratify-
ing

By degrees, and through the efforts of the Bureau, the accumulations of freedmen in camps and colonies were distributed on the plantations; though occasionally attended with difficulties and conflicts between capital and labor, the vast and complicated machinery became simplified and worked with less friction. At the end of the first year's experiment of free labor in North Carolina, out of a colored population of about 350,000, only 5000 were receiving aid from the government; and at the end of the second year, there were not more than 2500 who had not placed themselves and families out of the reach of want for the year.

John-
son's
first
annual
message

On the first Monday of December, President Johnson sent his first annual message to Congress; in which, after a narration of the acts he had performed, he endeavored to establish by argument his authority to reconstruct State governments, or to permit the pardoned citizens to do so under his direction. In closing, he officially notified Congress that he had admitted the reconstructed States to participation in amending the Constitution of the United States. The President virtually denied the power of the Houses of Congress, either separately or jointly, to prevent

Congressmen from the reconstructed States from taking their seats, except on the ground of defects in the election or in the personal qualification of the elected person.

1865

This aroused a feeling of violent opposition; and the moment the House of Representatives was ready for business, Thaddeus Stevens presented a resolution for the appointment of a joint committee of the two Houses to inquire into the condition of the late so-called Confederate States, and report by bill whether, in the judgment of the committee, these States, or any of them, were entitled to representation in either House of Congress. This resolution also provided that "until such report shall have been made, and finally acted upon by Congress, no member shall be received into either House from any of the so-called Confederate States." The resolution passed almost unanimously. It was a declaration of the opinion of the members that reconstruction was a problem for Congress, and not for the executive department of the government. In the Senate the latter clause of the resolution met with some opposition, which was overcome by passing it as a concurrent instead of a joint resolution. There was, besides this objection, a feeling that the ready acceptance of the President's plan of reconstruction by the South, showed that it extended more privileges than were to be expected, and was too liberal.

Message
provokes
oppo-
sition

And
Congress
ex-
presses
dissent
by
almost
unani-
mous
action

One consideration which moved the Republicans in Congress to oppose the President was the legislation of the States reconstructed under his

1865

Adoption
of Thir-
teenth
Amend-
ment

plan, concerning the status and the rights of the freedmen. It was not at all surprising that most Republicans, both in and out of Congress, felt that the freedom of the negro had not yet been sufficiently guaranteed to render the acknowledgment of the resumption of State powers by the seceded communities safe and wise. They were undoubtedly right in considering it their duty to secure the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment before affording the opportunity for its defeat. Two weeks after the passage of the Stevens resolution, that amendment was declared adopted.

Recon-
structed
States
denied
representa-
tion

Meantime the Senators and Representatives elect from the reconstructed States had gathered in Washington, and demanded the right to take their seats in the two Houses and to take part in their deliberations. Among them was the late Vice-President of the Confederacy. The Senate, however, passed a resolution concurrent with one in the House, denying seats to any of the claimants until the report of the joint committee on reconstruction should be made and finally acted upon. There was some slight opposition in the Republican ranks to the position taken, but a majority in both Houses resolutely determined to oppose the Presidential plan of reconstruction, and construct one of their own. The members of this committee were six months in session before making their report.

A debate upon the admission of the States was opened in the House on the 18th of December by Mr. Stevens, who laid down the proposition that

the territory covered by the seceded States was nothing but a conquered district, and that should they ever be recognized as States again, it could only be accomplished by virtue of that provision in the Constitution which declares that "new States may be admitted by Congress into this Union." This was in exact opposition not only to the President's theory, but to that on which the entire North had justified itself in waging the war, that the States were still in the Union, and that the rebellion was the work of private individuals, combined as truly against the real States in which it existed, as against the United States; and that, therefore, the overthrow of these combinations and the cessation of military rule must be followed by the resumption by the States concerned of all their rights and powers; with rights to local self-government and a participation in the United States government unimpaired, and without requiring any action whatever on the part of Congress. But Mr. Stevens, although generally recognized as a spokesman for the Republican party, did not, on this point, accurately represent the opinion of the majority.

It was the feeling of the great mass of the party that secession had no validity, and yet that the States were in a condition which required the assent of Congress to the resumption of their former status. This idea was embodied in a resolution offered by Mr. Shellabarger, which declared that, while secession was legally a nullity from the beginning, and could not take a State from

1865

Debate
upon ad-
mission
of States

Stevens'
opinion
not that
of his
party

Power of
Congress

1865-6 under the rightful jurisdiction of the United States and Constitution, yet it worked the loss of its status as a State in the Union, and, from a legal point of view, left this territory and the inhabitants of it subject exclusively to the jurisdiction of the United States government; a status from which they could be relieved only by the erection of States anew upon such territory, an operation which could be effected under the Constitution of the United States only by the co-operation of Congress with the loyal inhabitants of such territory.

Status of former seceded States

The legislation of the reconstructed States, during the sessions of 1865-66, seemed to indicate that the civil rights of the freedman must be secured by national law. A bill to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau, which originated in the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, was presented in that body on the 12th of January, 1866. It provided for the appointment of additional commissioners and of agents for each county throughout the section where the Bureau might operate, and placed the Bureau distinctly under the military administration of the President, authorizing him to extend military jurisdiction and protection over all of the officers, agents, and employees of the Bureau. It proposed also to vest in the Bureau the power to build schoolhouses and asylums for the freedmen, and the most wide-reaching jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases where equality in civil rights and status and in the application of penalties was denied, or the

Proposed enlargement of scope of Freedmen's Bureau

denial thereof admitted on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and it authorized military protection in all such cases to be extended to the suffering party.

1866

It was essentially a war measure, and the President undoubtedly was right in objecting to it as such. While its aims were creditable, its methods could not be defended. It passed both Houses after long discussion, and, on the 10th of February, was sent to the President for his signature. On the 19th it was returned with the President's veto. In setting forth his objections to the measure, the President said that he could not approve of it at a time when the authority of the government was not disputed in any part of the country, the rebellion was at an end, and the country was returning to the pursuits of peace. The original law of March 3 was still in operation, and furnished him with all the extraordinary powers necessary to protect the freedmen. He referred to the army of officials which the proposed law would create, and the enormous expense which its carrying out would entail. Furthermore, he denied the constitutional power of the government of the United States to assume functions for negroes which it had never been authorized to assume for white men. Congress refused to pass the bill over his veto, a result which encouraged the President to a more decisive stand upon what he considered his executive rights.

President
vetoes
the bill

And
Congress
fails to
pass it

Previous to this, what is known as the Civil Rights bill had been introduced into the Senate,

1866

Introduction of
Civil
Rights
bill

the purpose of which was simply to constitute equality in the enjoyment of civil rights for all citizens of the country, and to make all persons born in the country and not subject to any foreign power, citizens. It conferred no political privilege and no social equality. The bill provided penalties for violating or attempting to violate civil equality as thus defined, and established the jurisdiction of the trial of such cases. This bill was also vetoed, but on its return it was promptly repassed by both Houses.

Effect of
emanci-
pation of
slaves

Several things had become clear in the course of the debates upon these two bills. One was, that the emancipation of the slaves would increase the representation in Congress and the electoral college from the old slave States by two-fifths, whenever those communities should be again recognized as States; and that, too, without the admission of the emancipated persons to the exercise of political suffrage. With such increased representation, the Southern members and the Northern Democrats would constitute a majority in Congress and in the electoral college, and, it was said, might proceed not only to repeal the Civil Rights Act and all acts in behalf of the freedmen, but also to throw the Confederate debt, or a part of it, upon the United States, or establish pensions for Confederate soldiers, or even repudiate the debt of the Union. To suppose they would have the incredible folly to pass acts which would be disallowed by any conceivable Senate, which no President would dare or wish to sign, and the first

appropriation for which or refusal to pay obligations under which would be held up by suits before the national courts till a new uprising of the North should efface the Southern States from existence; still more, that Northern Democratic Congressmen would vote to tax themselves for a share of the Confederate debt or Confederate pensions,—seems so far beyond reason that it is hard to imagine sensible men believing or professing to believe it. Yet they did so by hundreds of thousands down to the end of 1884.

1866

Fear of
action of
Demo-
cratic
majority

The Thirteenth Amendment simply abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, and empowered Congress to pass appropriate laws for its execution. On the 22d of January the House Committee on Reconstruction presented the following bill as a new amendment:

“Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, counting the total number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; provided that whenever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of race or color, all persons of such race or color shall be excluded from the basis of representation.”

After several weeks' discussion, it was abandoned as a separate measure and merged into a general article of five sections, the first of which defined citizenship and the rights appertaining thereto; the second dealt with the franchise; the third with disability as to holding office; the fourth declared the validity of all the existing obligations

Discus-
sion upon
proposed
amend-
ment

1866

Passage
of the
amend-
ment

of the United States, and repudiated all obligations whatsoever assumed in aid of rebellion, and all claims for the loss or emancipation of any slave. As this bill was passed by the necessary two-thirds majority. it was not submitted to the President.

Legis-
lative
action
upon the
same

Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, notified the passage of the amendment to the various State legislatures concerned, for legislative action. Along with this bill the Reconstruction Committee reported another, which, in effect, made the ratification of the proposed amendment, by the respective legislatures of the reconstructed Southern communities, the condition of the admission of the Senators and Representatives elected from them to seats in Congress. Fortunately, this bill, which was plainly unconstitutional, was rejected by both Houses. Tennessee ratified the amendment within a month after receiving it from Secretary Seward, and was, by Congressional vote, restored to her former practical relations to the Union, and declared entitled to be represented by Senators and Representatives in Congress. The rejection of the amendment by the remaining seceded States brought the process of reconstruction to a standstill. The South was apparently determined that the negroes should not be admitted to the polls. There was a strong and rapidly growing sentiment in the loyal States in favor of the amendment, even in the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

Results
in rejec-
tion by
all the
States
save Ten-
nessee

CHAPTER CVIII.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND CONGRESS

Local legislation in the South convinced the radical Republicans that the newly organized States were developing codes in regard to freedmen which did not essentially differ from the old slave codes; and that this could be prevented only by national control, temporary or permanent, according to circumstances.

Immediately after the Fourteenth Amendment had been submitted to the legislatures of the Southern States, a majority and minority report was made to Congress by the members of the Reconstruction Committee, the former being signed by all the Republican members, and the latter by the Democratic members. The majority report rehearsed the views already set forth, that, by rebellion and attempted secession, the eleven States in which these things happened had lost their Statehood and had become disorganized communities; that the present situation was one largely of exhausted resources only; and that everything which had been done, under the President's reconstruction policy, amounted to putting the same men in power who led in the rebellion and denying both civil and political rights to the freedmen. "Therefore," it concluded, "Congress

1866

Party
lines
drawn on
Four-
teenth
Amend-
ment

1868

Majority
report

would not be justified in admitting such communities to a participation in the government of the country, without first providing such constitutional or other guarantees as would tend to secure the civil rights of all citizens of the republic, a just equality of representation, protection against claims founded in rebellion and crime, a temporary restoration of the right of suffrage to those who have not actively participated in the efforts to destroy the Union and overthrow the government, and the exclusion from positions of public trust of at least a portion of those whose crimes have proved them to be the enemies of the Union and unworthy of public confidence."

Minority
report

The minority report, which was written by Mr. Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, took the position that a State of the Union could never become anything else than a State, no matter what might be the character, deeds, attempts, or disposition of the people who inhabited it; and that it was at all times entitled to the same powers, rights, and privileges under the Constitution of the United States.

Presi-
dent
vetoes
amended
Freed-
men's
Bureau
bill

In July, an amended Freedmen's Bureau bill passed both Houses, which was vetoed, as was expected. The President claimed that his objections to the first bill were valid against the second; referred to the fact that the civil rights measure just passed over his veto met all points provided for in the Freedmen's Bureau bill; and affirmed that all the provisions of that law would be executed by him through ordinary civil means, in so

far as they should not be repealed by Congress or declared unconstitutional by the courts.¹

1866

The two Houses re-passed the bill over the veto on the day it was returned. By this time it had become open war between the President and Congress. The friction became apparent even in the Cabinet. Stanton was personally hostile, and lost no opportunity of showing it. Great as had been his services to the country under Lincoln, his animosity towards Johnson seriously affected the progress of reconstruction at the South. Other members of the Cabinet who were disaffected toward the President's policy—Attorney-General Speed, Postmaster-General Dennison, and Secretary of the Interior Harlan—simultaneously resigned their offices in the month of July, and were respectively replaced by Messrs. Stanbery, Randall, and Brown. The President was shorn of his military control by Congress, which transferred his functions to the Secretary of War and the general of the army. He was naturally incensed

Growing
hostility
to the
Presi-
dent

Members
of the
Cabinet
resign

¹“From the point of view of to-day, it is difficult to see why the President was not right. There is no doubt that the Freedmen's Bureau, with its powers of jurisdiction and charities, was a far greater source of irritation in the South than was the presence of the United States Army. While its superior officers were generally men of ability and character, a large number of the subalterns were canting hypocrites and outright thieves. They kept the negroes in a state of idleness, beggary, and unrest, and made them a constant danger to the life and property of the whites, and their veritable tyranny over the white population did more to destroy Union sentiment among the whites, and make them regard the United States government in a hostile light, than anything which had happened during the whole rebellion.”—Burgess' *Reconstruction and the Constitution*. This excessively bitter indictment, however, is questioned by others as unauthoritative, asserting that the fact that the Bureau was made necessary by Southern conditions is ignored.

1866

Impolitic
actions

by the attitude of Congress and that of the most important member of his Cabinet towards him; and, under the influence of that feeling and the weakness before alluded to, he was driven to the utterance of speeches which were, to say the least, unbecoming his high station. The Republican leaders encouraged Stanton to remain in the Cabinet, declaring that the welfare of the country demanded it.

Distrust
of the
South
by the
North

The feeling at this period generally obtained in the North that the late leaders in rebellion at the South had taken possession of the reconstructed State governments, and were about to reorganize the old system of slavery under a different name and on a somewhat different basis. It was also believed that the life and property of Union men at the South were utterly insecure; and it was asserted by the radical press that the President was conspiring with the South and the Democratic party at the North to drive the Republican party from power, and restore antebellum conditions. Just at this time, while the political feeling of the country was in a tense condition, a deplorable massacre took place in New Orleans, which Northern sentiment ascribed to Johnson's policy.

Mention has already been made of the Louisiana convention of 1864, for the purpose of remodeling the constitution of the State and admitting negroes to the suffrage. The constitution formed at that convention was the work of sincere Union men. There was a large party,

however, of mixed whites and blacks, who were not satisfied with it, and called a second convention for the purpose of framing a new constitution. The leaders in the movement were made up of Union men, negroes, and ex-Confederate residents in the State who had been pardoned by the President, who now proposed by these means to get possession of the State government. It was the plan to so change the constitution as to create an electorate which would bring them into power. To do this involved the granting of negro suffrage, to which the majority of the voters of the State were bitterly opposed. The time appointed for the convention was the 30th of July at noon, the place for the meeting being the Mechanics' Institute Building at New Orleans.

Naturally, the party in power regarded this plan for ousting them from the State government as one to be met with every means in their power. They therefore resolved to prevent the assembly of the convention, or, if assembled, to disperse it by force. The mayor of the city applied to General Baird, in command of the United States troops, to know what attitude he would take towards the convention, and said that he intended to disperse it if it assembled without the approval of the military authorities. General Baird telegraphed to Secretary Stanton, telling him of the situation and asking for instructions; but the Secretary made no reply. He did not even communicate the telegram to the President. Mayor Monroe, however, had personally telegraphed to President

1866

Calling of
second
conven-
tion in
New
Orleans

Measures
to
prevent
assembly

1866

Presi-
dent
Johnson
appealed
to

Johnson, saying that incendiary speeches were being made calling upon the negroes to arm, that the governor was in sympathy with the movement, that the matter was before the grand jury, and that it was contemplated to have the members of the convention arrested by criminal process; and asked whether the military authorities would interfere to prevent the execution of the processes of the criminal court. The President answered at once that the military would be expected to sustain the proceedings of the court.

It was the understanding all round that if the delegates to the convention were interfered with at all, it would be through the grand jury and the officers of the court, not through the police. Soon after the convention had assembled, a procession of negroes carrying a flag marched through the streets towards the hall. They were hooted and jeered, when a negro in the procession fired a pistol. Other shots followed, and the crowd rushed after the procession, which now broke up and ran into the building in disorder. A body of policemen, who had been sent to the hall to preserve the peace, began an indiscriminate fire upon the convention till they had emptied their revolvers; they then retired, and those inside barricaded the doors. As soon as their pistols were reloaded, the police broke in the doors and again commenced firing. Many of the members of the convention escaped through the windows, and were fired upon by the mob outside. Many of the wounded were taken prisoners, and some prisoners who were not

Massacre
in con-
vention
hall

wounded were stabbed while lying upon the ground and their heads beaten with stones and brickbats. Several members of the convention were killed by the policemen while in their hands.

1866

The affair aroused intense indignation at the North, where it was declared a massacre without the shadow of an excuse: it would be time for the whites to defend themselves when they were attacked or had laws actually passed. The leaders of the riot, who included several members of the State and city government, declared that it was a justifiable resistance to an attempt to force negro suffrage and negro rule upon them. General Sheridan, who was in command of the department, reported that no steps were taken by the civil authorities to arrest the policemen or the citizens who were engaged in this outrage. The affair proved that the public authorities of the reconstructed State government of Louisiana not only refused the equal protection of the laws to all persons, but would deprive persons even of life without due process of law. It brought the question squarely before the country, whether Congress should not pronounce the reconstruction effected by the President null and void, and proceed to do the work over again, with the purpose of creating adequate guarantee for life and property and for the equal protection of the laws to all.

Indignation in the North

Louisiana authorities indifferent to lawlessness

The campaign of 1866 for the election of the House of Representatives, and for a number of State legislatures to choose United States Senators, assumed the character and importance of a

1866
August

National
Union
Con-
vention

Presidential canvass. Four national conventions were held during the months of August and September. The first, which called itself the National Union Convention, met in Philadelphia August 14. The great majority of members were Democrats; although there were a few prominent Republicans among them, such as Montgomery Blair, Henry J. Raymond, General Dix, Senators Cowan, Doolittle, and Browning. All the Southern delegates were Democrats. Prominent among the Northern delegates of that party were Robert C. Winthrop, S. J. Tilden, Reverdy Johnson, and Fernando Wood. Vallandigham presented himself as a delegate; but as many objected to his presence, he withdrew. The convention was attended by an audience of ten or twelve thousand people. On its opening, the delegates from Massachusetts and North Carolina marched into the building arm in arm. When the resolution was read declaring slavery abolished and forever prohibited, and that the enfranchised slave should receive equal protection in every right of person and property, the whole assembly of delegates rose and cheered in unison. The resolution offered simply affirmed the principles contained in the President's reconstruction policy.

Presi-
dent's
policy
endorsed

A second convention, in which the loyal Union men of the South took part, assembled in Philadelphia on the 3d of September. Among its representatives were many of the leading men of the South, who had come to take counsel with the leaders of the Republican party. The delegates to

the convention were separated into two bodies, one made up of representatives from the South and the other those from the North. The former was presided over by the late Attorney-General Speed, who denounced the President's reconstruction work, both in principle and results, as unsound and mischievous. An address was prepared which declared the President a traitor to his party and the Union, and a sympathizer with rebels; described his reconstruction policy as deplorable, and urged the immediate adoption of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment as the only cure for the political evils which afflicted the country.

1866
Sept.

Loyal
Union-
ists in
conven-
tion

A third convention, under the auspices of the Administration party, was held at Cleveland, Ohio, September 17. It was an attempt to influence the late soldiers in the Union armies. It was presided over by General Wool, and among the delegates were Generals Gordon Granger, Rousseau, Custer, McClermand, and Ewing. It was not a large nor an enthusiastic gathering.

Conven-
tion of
Adminis-
tration
party

On the 26th of September, another convention of army veterans was held at Pittsburg, for the specific purpose of upholding Congress in its fight with the administration over the question of reconstruction. It brought out a multitude of the best known officers and men of the late Union armies, who declared for the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment as the one indispensable measure for the reestablishment of peace and justice and union.

Army
veterans
in con-
vention

In the month of August, the President was invited to take part in the ceremony of laying

1866
Aug.-
Sept.

Johnson
"swing-
ing
around
the
circle"

the corner-stone of a monument to Stephen A. Douglas in Chicago. He took advantage of the opportunity to make it an electioneering tour, "swinging around the circle," to use his own expression; visiting the principal cities along his route, addressing the people at various points, and trying to influence public opinion in favor of his policy. He was accompanied by three of his Cabinet officers,—Secretaries Seward, Randall, and Welles,—and by General Grant and Admiral Farragut, the last two joining the party by special order. Seward's approval of his policy says much for its essential righteousness, and indeed his purpose cannot be thought mistaken; but he misjudged the actual situation even more than his enemies, and his methods and personal disqualifications in themselves would make any policy impracticable. Leaving Washington on the 28th, he reached New York the same day, where he made an undignified speech, which was fully reported by the press, and occasioned much unfavorable comment. Between New York and Cleveland he spoke at various places. At Cleveland he appeared on the balcony of the Kennard House to address the crowd which had gathered, so much under the influence of drink that he was unfit to speak. At St. Louis he made a speech in which he blamed Congress for the New Orleans riot, and even attempted a partial excuse for it. At Indianapolis the mob would not allow him to speak. He returned from his journey utterly discredited before the country.

His high
office
degraded
both by
speech
and
action

Senator Sherman wrote, "The feeling against him was intensified by his conduct in his recent tour, when he sunk the Presidential office to the level of a grog-house." Large numbers of his supporters turned from him to the party of Congress. The President attempted to arrest this movement by replacing Republicans in office with his own adherents. During the campaign he removed nearly 1300 postmasters and hundreds of custom-house and revenue officials. This did his cause, however, more harm than good.

Before starting on this journey, the President had issued a proclamation declaring that the insurrection and civil war was at an end in every part of the country. Before that, he had officially declared the insurrection at an end everywhere except in Texas. These proclamations were evidently intended to furnish a basis for the recognition of the validity of his policy. He felt quite sure of victory at the fall elections, which, however, resulted in his overwhelming defeat. The result showed that the Republicans had elected 143 of their candidates to the House of Representatives, against 49 Democrats. In the Senate the Republicans constituted more than a two-thirds majority of the members, so that in any contest between the President and Congress, the party of the former would be in a hopeless minority.

In his message to Congress, December 3, the President again set forth his former arguments, restating what he had done towards reconstruction: declaring that peace had been everywhere

1866

John-
son's
friends
forsake
him

Repub-
licans
have
large
majority
in Con-
gress

1866

The President's
message
restates
his
position

restored, and that the laws and machinery of the government were in unimpeded operation everywhere throughout the land; that the loyal State governments had been restored everywhere, and only lacked the admission of Representatives and Senators from the ten States to seats in Congress. He argued that in recognizing these States as restored to their former relations, there was no risk of disloyal men being admitted into Congress, for the reason that each House could reject members elected on account of disloyalty, or could expel any member for the same reason. He therefore urged Congress to acknowledge the reconstruction of these States, and to apply the powers of the two Houses in regard to the election returns and qualifications of their respective members to the individual persons elected to seats. He reviewed the different steps taken in the direction of the restoration of the seceded States, and said: "Every patriot must wish for general amnesty at the earliest epoch consistent with public safety. For this great end there is need of a concurrence of all opinions and the spirit of mutual conciliation. All parties in the late terrible conflict must work together in harmony. It is not too much to ask in the name of the whole people, that on the one side the plan of restoration shall proceed in conformity with a willingness to cast the disorders of the past into oblivion, and that, on the other, the evidence of sincerity in the future maintenance of the Union shall be put beyond any doubt by the ratification of the proposed amendment to the

Pleads
for
harmony
between
sections

Constitution, which provides for the abolition of slavery forever within the limits of our country."

1866

The President believed that the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment ought to entitle the Southern States to representation in the national Legislature; but this was for the Senate and House to judge. He advised that the question of suffrage for the freedmen should be left to the States. "Good faith," he declared, "requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty and their property, their right to labor and their right to claim the just return of their labor. Sincere philanthropy is earnest for the immediate realization of its remotest ends, but time is always an element in reform. It is one of the greatest acts on record to have brought four million people into freedom. The career of every industry must be fairly opened to them, and then their future prosperity and condition must after all rest mainly on themselves."

Freed-
men
should be
guaran-
teed
every
right

More sensible words were never spoken. Congress, however, was in no mood to listen or to work with him. It accepted the result of the elections as the verdict of the people in favor of the Congressional method of reconstruction; besides, the defiant attitude of the legislation of the reconstructed States made that plan difficult. In the month of December, seven of these States had rejected the proposed Fourteenth Amendment by overwhelming majorities. The three remaining States followed in January. It was believed in

Recon-
structed
States
reject
proposed
Four-
teenth
Amend-
ment

1866
Dec.

Washington that this action was in accordance with the advice of the President.

Presi-
dent
vetoes
bill
granting
suffrage
to
colored
people in
District
of
Columbia

One of the first acts of legislation in the newly assembled Congress was a bill extending suffrage to the colored people of the District of Columbia. It went to the President on the 26th of December, and two weeks later was returned to the Senate with his veto. He did not question that Congress had the constitutional power to establish negro suffrage in the District; but he argued that such a legislation was against the expressed will of the very large majority of its voters. He cited the fact that only one year before, out of a poll of 6555, one of the largest ever cast in the city, only thirty-five ballots were cast for negro suffrage, and in Georgetown, only one ballot out of 813. He believed that Congress ought not to make the District a place for trying political experiments of so grave a character as conferring suffrage, the highest privilege of American citizenship, upon a race of men just emerging from the ignorance and vice attendant on a condition of slavery. He asked, finally, that the act, which seemed to him to be a degradation of American suffrage, should be reconsidered by Congress. But that body had evidently made up its mind that, however logical and apparently reasonable were the suggestions offered, nothing good could come out of Andrew Johnson. In the arguments upon the veto, Congress took the ground that, in legislating for the District, it was acting for the whole United States and not simply for the inhabitants of the District,

His
sensible
stand

and that there was no place in the entire country where political experiments could be more safely tried than there. The bill was repassed over the President's veto; and on the 8th of January, negro suffrage was declared established in the District of Columbia.

1867
Feb.—
March

Congress
passes
bill

On the 6th of February, a Reconstruction Bill was presented to the House of Representatives by Thaddeus Stevens, from the committee of fifteen on reconstruction. It began by declaring that the reconstructed State governments did not protect adequately life or property, but countenanced and encouraged lawlessness and crime; that it was necessary that peace and good order should be enforced until loyal governments could be legally established in them. The bill then enacted that these States should be divided into five military divisions, and made subject to the military authority of the United States,—Virginia to constitute the first division; North Carolina and South Carolina the second; Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the third; Mississippi and Arkansas the fourth; Louisiana and Texas the fifth; that each division should be under the command of an army officer of no lower rank than brigadier-general, and that such commander should have a sufficient force to enable him to enforce his authority in his special district; that these commanders might use civil tribunals in the enforcement of the laws if they should see fit, and if these were not effective, they might institute military commissions and govern through them; that no sentence of these

Stevens'
recon-
struction
bill

Military
control
provided
for

1867 commissions should be executed until approved by the commanding officer of the district; and, finally, that the United States courts and judges should issue no writs of *habeas corpus* against the proceedings and judgments of these commissions. This monstrous bill was severely criticised even by members of the Congressional party. Some of its provisions were declared unconstitutional; amendments were made, and it passed back and forth between the Senate and House until it was shorn of some of its most objectionable provisions. On the 25th of February it was sent to the President.

Bill
subject
to great
criticism

The
Tenure-
of-Office
bill

Coincident with it was another, known as the Tenure-of-Office Bill, the purpose of which was to limit the customary power of the President over the civil official system. There was no clause in the Constitution which expressly vested in the President the power to dismiss from office; but the clause which made the President solely responsible for the execution of the laws was interpreted by the first Congress as doing so, and it had been the practice of the government from the beginning. The Republicans feared that the President would use this power of dismissal from office so universally as to make the entire official system supporters of his policy of reconstruction. In the fall of 1866 it was asserted that he was dismissing officials from their positions on the ground of a difference of opinion with himself on this subject; and it was believed that as soon as Congress should adjourn, he would remove all his enemies.

The Tenure-of-Office Bill made the removal of officers appointed by and with the consent of the Senate, except only members of the Cabinet, subject to the consent of the Senate. It allowed the President, during the Senate recess, the power of suspension for cause, and of making appointment of a suitable person to discharge temporarily the duties of such suspended officer; but it required a report of all such suspensions to the Senate within the first twenty days of the next meeting of the Senate, with the reasons therefor, and reinstated the suspended officer in case the Senate should not concur in the suspension. If the Senate should concur, the President must remove the officer, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint another person in his place.

This bill was passed with some slight amendments. It was accompanied by the most stringent provisions for its enforcement, making its violation a high misdemeanor, punishable by fine or imprisonment or both; and forbade the officers of the Treasury and all officers of the United States to pay any money or salary for compensation to any person claiming to hold any office or employment contrary to its provisions. These bills went to the President on the 20th of February, and on March 2 were returned to Congress with vetoes, evidently prepared by Mr. Seward. The latter took the ground that under the provisions of the Constitution, the statutes of Congress, judicial decisions, and the uniform practice of the government, Congress had no power to establish or

1867

Senate to
control
dis-
missals
from
officeProvis-
ions for
enforce-
mentBills
vetoed

1867

President's
argu-
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vain

reëstablish martial law anywhere in the country, except when and where war or armed rebellion existed as a fact, a condition which did not then exist; and that Congress had no power to force the President to retain agents and subordinates in office against his judgment and will. The argument was of no avail, however.

Congress
deprives
Johnson
of
military
functions

Up to this time the majority of the Republicans in Congress had refused to vote to take away the President's military prerogatives. Now they voted, "That the headquarters of the General of the Army of the United States shall be at the city of Washington, and all orders and instructions relating to military operations issued by the President or Secretary of War shall be issued through the General of the Army, and, in case of his inability, through the next in rank. The General of the Army shall not be removed, suspended, or relieved from command, or assigned to duty elsewhere than at said headquarters, except at his own request, without the previous approval of the Senate; and any orders or instructions relating to the military operations issued contrary to the requirements of this section shall be null and void." The penalty of disobedience to these orders was imprisonment for not less than two, nor more than twenty years. In a word, the dominant party was to have the army, headed by General Grant, to use against the President.

Under the Constitution the President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy; and his power of issuing military commands, and the

assignment of officers and troops of the army to particular positions, had, up to this time, been considered as his especial functions, without the right of interference by Congress. It was openly charged by the friends of the administration that it was designed as a trap, into which the President might fall by making removals, or appointments, and so would offer an excuse for impeachment and expulsion from office. The President made a strong protest, but signed the bill in order to save the appropriations for the support of the army.

1867

President protests, but signs bill

On the 2d of March, Congress passed a supplementary Reconstruction Bill. It was in the nature of instructions to the commanders of the respective districts, as to the methods to be employed in carrying out the regulations prescribed by the above-named act. It covered the franchise, the methods of election, the qualifications of delegates, the registration and qualification of electors. As was expected, the bill was vetoed; the grounds being its unconstitutionality, that it would prove a terrible means of oppression in the hands of the military government, and that the election law prescribed was manifestly for the purpose of disfranchising the great body of respectable white people, and creating a new electorate on the basis of universal negro suffrage. Again the veto was overridden.

Instructions to military commanders

Vetoed by President

But veto ignored

On the 15th of March, orders from army headquarters made the following assignments of commanders: To the first district, Virginia, General Schofield; second district, North Carolina and

1867

Difficult
position
of
military
com-
manders

Rare
qualities
needed
by them

South Carolina, General Sickles; third district, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama, General Pope; fourth district, Mississippi and Arkansas, General Ord; fifth district, Louisiana and Texas, General Sheridan. These officers had each distinguished themselves in the war, and had acquired high reputation for military capacity; but they now found themselves in positions which demanded other qualities. They were expected to carry out a great political policy, not by armed force, but by political means. They were to act under a commander-in-chief who was a violent adversary to the policy, and under a General of the Army who was known to favor it. They had to deal, moreover, with civil governments which their commander-in-chief insisted were constitutional organizations, but which Congress had declared destitute of legality. A degree of tact and discretion was now essential that exceeded anything ever required of them before. No possible conduct of the military commanders could be expected to win the approval of the great mass of the whole population, in whom the loss of self-government, which had gradually been restored during the last two years under the President's plan, caused the most bitter resentment; born not only from the dread of approaching negro domination, but from the consciousness that the centre of authority was at military headquarters and not in the respective legislatures.

CHAPTER CIX.

THE RULE OF THE MAJOR-GENERALS

In the beginning, all the district commanders announced their purpose to interfere as little as possible with the civil administration of the existing governments, which were directed to continue in the performance of their duties until duly superseded. It was inevitable that the overturn of the established order should engender friction; but wherever it occurred, military control steadily increased. It was not long before the generals found difficulty in the interpretation of the Reconstruction Acts. They applied to the President for instructions, who turned over their communications to the Attorney-General and the Cabinet.

On the 20th of June, a list of instructions was issued by the President, which, when made public, caused the passage of another bill giving the Congressional interpretation of the Reconstruction Acts. It was, in effect, a wholesale repudiation of the instructions given by the President, which had received the approbation of all the members of the Cabinet, Stanton excepted. This bill passed the two Houses July 13, and was at once sent to the President, who returned it with a veto message to the House of Representatives, where it had originated. The President stated as his

1867

Clash of
civil and
military
adminis-
trations

Presi-
dent's
instruc-
tions re-
pudiated
by Con-
gress

1867

Johnson
fears
military
des-
potism

objection that the bill was not simply an interpretation of the existing Reconstruction Acts, as it purported to be, but was a large advance upon them. While the existing Acts made the State governments at the South subject to military authority in some, but not all, respects, the new measure extended the despotism of the military commanders over everything. This, he protested, was a violation of every guarantee of individual liberty contained in the Constitution. He asserted that military officers were unfit to discharge the duties and exercise the powers pertaining naturally to civil office; and protested against "the robbery of the constitutional powers of the Executive" by this measure, to confer some of them upon other persons. He said: "Whilst I hold the chief executive authority of the United States, whilst the obligation rests upon me to see that all the laws are faithfully executed, I can never willingly surrender that trust or the powers given for its execution. I can never give my assent to be made responsible for the faithful execution of laws, and at the same time surrender that trust and the powers which accompany it to any other executive officer, high or low, or to any number of executive officers. If this executive trust, vested by the Constitution to the President, has to be taken from him and vested in a subordinate officer, the responsibility will be with Congress in clothing the subordinate with unconstitutional power, and with the officer who assumes its exercise."

And
protests
against
robbing
Execu-
tive of
his
rights

The radicals in Congress accepted this statement as a threat of the President to interfere with the execution of the Reconstruction Acts. A month before there had been whispers of impeachment. Now the talk to that effect was revived. The bill was passed over the veto by a large majority; and on the following day, July 20, Congress adjourned to meet the 21st of the following November.

1867

Bill
again
passed
over
veto.

In the mean time, trouble was rife in the different military departments. General Schofield, in Virginia, exercised his powers with tact and moderation. Civilian appointments were made after consultation with local judiciary officers, and appointees were duly commissioned by the governor of the State. In the Carolinas, removals were made only for positive misconduct in office. General Pope, in the third district, assumed an extreme position as to the scope of his authority, and issued an order deposing Governor Jenkins of Georgia, for expressing hostility to the Reconstruction Acts. The governor, however, offered an explanation, and the order was not carried out. Pope's rule was not altogether satisfactory; and he was removed six months after his appointment, being succeeded by General Meade. In May, Pope summarily removed the mayor, chief of police, and other municipal officers of Mobile, on account of a disturbance that took place at a meeting at which Congressman Kelley of Pennsylvania made an address. A few days later, General Sheridan of New Orleans removed Governor Wells of

Clashes
of author-
ity in
various
Southern
States

1867

The case
of
Governor
Wells

Leads to
granting
of greater
power to
com-
manders

Louisiana, and appointed a civilian in his place. Before this he had removed the attorney-general of the State, the mayor and city judges of New Orleans. Wells had influential friends in administrative circles at Washington, who brought his case before the country; and there was an overwhelming demand from all parts of the South that the acts of Sheridan and Pope should be overruled. Attorney-General Stanbery, who had been appealed to for an opinion on this and other provisions of the Reconstruction Acts, reported that these acts gave no authority whatever for either removal or appointment of executive or judiciary officers of the State. Congress at once passed a supplementary act of July 19, which gave to the commanders, in the most unqualified terms, power to remove at their discretion any State officer, and to fill vacancies either by the detail of an officer or soldier or by the appointment of some other person. It provided further that it should be the duty of the commanders to remove from office all persons disloyal to the government of the United States, and required that new appointees should take the "iron-clad" oath.¹

¹"I, _____, do solemnly swear that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, counsel, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have never sought, nor accepted, nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever under any authority, or pretended authority, in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or constitution within the United States hostile or inimical thereto; and that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies foreign and domestic."

When the constitutional conventions, under these new restrictions, met in the various States, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, the effect of which would be to make a clean sweep of the existing officials; but the commanders in the various districts declared that the carrying out of such a policy would be ruinous, as there were not enough competent persons available to fill the vacant places if the iron-clad oath should be required. The commanders, therefore, were left to their own discretion. No power to modify or set aside existing laws was given to the commanders, but most of them from the beginning acted upon that assumption, and refused to regard the State laws as of any significance save as auxiliary to the military government. Attorney-General Stanbery took a decided stand against this interpretation of the Reconstruction Act, and declared that no power whatever was conferred on the commanders in the field of legislation. In the Supplementary Act of July 19, it was explicitly declared that the ten State governments, at the time the Reconstruction Act was passed, were not legal State governments; and that thereafter said governments, if continued, were to be subject in all respects to the military commanders of the respective districts and of the paramount authority of Congress.

1867

Supreme
control
of the
military

State
govern-
ments
to be
subject
to Con-
gress

In the condition of public opinion in the reconstructed States, it was assumed that trial by jury would not in all cases give strict justice to Union men or freedmen. Accordingly, in three of the

1867

Negroes
accepted
as jurorsHancock
revokes
Sheri-
dan's
order

districts the commanders,—Sickles, Pope, and Sheridan,—decreed that negroes should be accepted as jurors, and the court officers were directed to make up the jury panel from the registration lists. When General Hancock superseded Sheridan, in November, 1867, he revoked this order and put the old State laws in operation; declaring that “crimes and offenses must be left to the consideration and judgment of the regular civil authorities.” He took the ground that Sheridan’s order as to jurors was acting as a clog on justice, and that in deciding upon the qualifications for jurors, it was best to carry out the will of the people as expressed in the last legislative act upon the subject. Interference by the district commanders as to the administration of justice in the field of private law was confined to action in special cases, where the proceedings of the court were clearly inequitable or contrary to public policy.

Sickles’
humane
regula-
tions

In the state of economic demoralization which obtained in the South, there were many cases of real hardship occasioned by the failure of crops, and the disposition of creditors to enforce upon the impoverished people the immediate collection of claims. General Sickles issued an order declaring that “to suffer all this to go on without restraint or remedy is to sacrifice the general good”; and accordingly announced the following regulations, which should remain in force until the reconstructed governments should again be established:

There should be no imprisonment for debt. The institution of suits or execution of judgment for the payment of money on causes of action arising between December 19, 1860, the day South Carolina passed its ordinance of secession, and May 15, 1865, was forbidden. The sale of property upon execution for liabilities contracted before the former date, or by foreclosure of mortgage, was suspended for one year. Advances of capital for agricultural purposes were assured protection, and laborers' wages were made a lien on the crop. A homestead exemption, not to be waived, was established for the heads of families. United States currency was to be recognized as legal tender. The property of an absent debtor was exempted from attachment by the usual process, and the demand for bail in suits to recover ordinary debts was forbidden. Distress for rent was abolished. The manufacture of whisky was prohibited, and its sale within the district regulated. Discrimination in public conventions on account of color or caste was prohibited, and any one injured by such discrimination was given the right to action for damages.

Soon after these orders were issued, it happened that Chief Justice Chase was called upon to preside over the circuit court at Raleigh, North Carolina; and certain of his decisions brought him into collision with the military authorities. The United States marshal, who attempted to execute a judgment that conflicted with the military orders, was prevented by the commander of

1867

Wise
pro-
visions
for relief
of
debtor
class

Circuit
court in
North
Carolina

1867

the post, who was sustained by General Sickles. The Chief Justice protested to the President that the military authority established to enforce the laws of the United States was obstructing them instead. Grant wrote to Sickles that "the authority conferred on district commanders does not extend in any respect over the acts of the courts of the United States." On the 26th of August, General Sickles was relieved of his command, and General Canby appointed in his stead.

Sickles
replaced
by Canby

In other districts private laws were modified to relieve distress. General Ord suspended for a year forced sales of property for the benefit of creditors; and Schofield, in Virginia, issued a like order, to take effect while the carrying out of the law would result in the sacrifice of property or in leaving families or infirm persons destitute of support. A large majority of the whites at the South were personally in favor of radical action on behalf of debtors; and conventions in Georgia and Alabama adopted ordinances prohibiting oppressive proceedings and abolishing certain debts, to take effect with the new constitution. These ordinances General Meade proclaimed by military order in force at once.

Measures
to relieve
distress

The same arbitrary authority displayed in these orders and regulations was exercised in the administration of State finances. All expenses incurred by the several commanding generals were paid out of the Treasury of the United States; but the fees, salary, and compensation to be paid to all delegates and officers of the various conventions

were to be paid by the State. The condition of the finances in most of the States was at the lowest ebb. The people were not prompt in the payment of taxes. Special laws were necessary in regard to assessments, collections, and disbursements; but as the assembling of the Legislature was forbidden, the necessary legislation was effected by orders from headquarters.¹ General Pope directed that no payment should be made from the State treasuries of his district except on his approval. In South Carolina General Canby ordered material reductions in the taxes.

1867

Financial troubles in reconstructed States

The work of registration in the different States began in July and was completed in October. The boards of registration were composed of army officers, Freedmen's Bureau officers, discharged Union soldiers, and negroes. Most of those among the whites who were qualified to register did so, not from ready acquiescence in the Reconstruction Acts, but from the belief that by registering and

Registration in the South

¹ "It would be hard to deny that so far as the ordinary civil administration was concerned, the rule of the generals was as just and efficient as it was far-reaching. Criticism and denunciation of their acts were bitter and continuous, but no very profound research is necessary in order to discover that the animus of these charges was chiefly political. The instincts and traditions of popular government would permit no recognition of excellence in any feature of arbitrary one-man rule; and the whole system, moreover, was in the eyes of the critics hopelessly corrupted by the main end of its establishment, negro enfranchisement. The influence of this end was, in truth, so all-pervading that the judgment on the merits of the administration of the generals apart from it is almost impracticable; yet equity and sound judgment are sufficiently discernible in their conduct of civil affairs to afford a basis for the view that military government, pure and simple, unaccompanied with the measures for the institution of suffrage, might have proved for a time a useful aid to social readjustment in the South, as preliminary to the final solution of the political problems."—Dunning, *Essays on the Civil War*.

1867

Whites
register
in self-
defense

not voting on the question of holding a convention for constitutional ratification, these propositions might be defeated, as the act provided that the majority of the registered voters must vote in order to carry them in the affirmative. The result showed that in five of the States the power of re-creation would be held by negroes and mulattoes, most of whom three years before had been held in slavery. In the other five the whites were in a comparatively small majority. Most of the prominent political leaders were completely disfranchised; while a large number of respectable Union men held back from taking active part in the work in company with negroes, poor whites, and adventurers from the North classed as "carpet-baggers."

Freed-
men
register
and vote

The commanders in the different districts took the ground that the active exercise of political rights by the negroes was the essential principle of the Reconstruction Acts, and therefore the time limits set for registration were repeatedly extended to secure a full enrollment of the blacks. Any discouragement of the negroes as to registration or voting on the part of whites was made an offense subject to military punishment. The vote in each of the districts was in favor of the holding of conventions. In several of the States, not half those who registered voted; those who refrained being whites who were opposed to the Congressional acts for reconstruction, while those who voted were nearly all the newly enfranchised. This same fact was true as to the voting for delegates

to the conventions, which were largely made up of the lower class of the white and negro population. In South Carolina there were sixty-three negro delegates to thirty-four white; and the reports of the proceedings show that but for the control exercised over them by the military commanders, and the coöperation between the commanders and the small conservative white element in these bodies, the result of their work would have been a travesty of justice, common sense, and common honesty.

1868

The con-
vention
in South
Carolina

The constitutions constructed by these conventions were submitted to the people for ratification. The first State to vote was Alabama, which rejected the proposed constitution. This result was achieved through a formal policy of abstention. Congress saw, in the mean time, what might happen, and passed a bill providing that the approval of the majority of those voting, no matter what the proportion of the vote to the registration might be, should be regarded as a sufficient ratification of the proposed State constitutions for the communities under reconstruction; and, although this act was passed more than a month after the vote in Alabama, it was made retroactive, and the result in Alabama was declared to be in favor of the constitution. During the months of April and May, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Florida ratified their constitutions, and elected Republican State officers and Congressmen. In Mississippi the constitution was rejected by over 7000 majority, and a Democratic ticket for

Congress
declares
constitu-
tion
ratified in
Alabama

Five
other
States
take
same
action

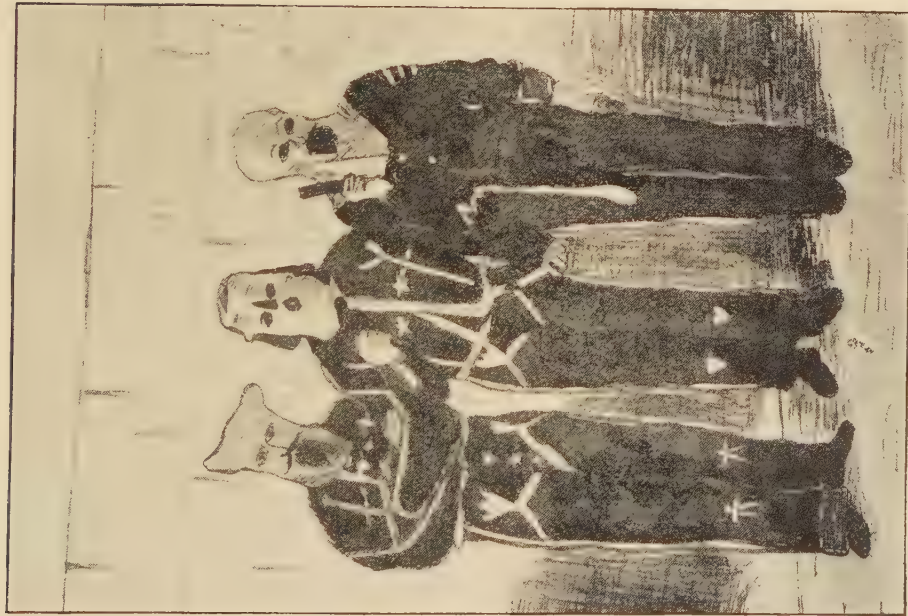
1868 State offices was successful. In Virginia the convention completed the draft of the constitution in the spring, but there were no funds with which to meet the expenses of an election on ratification.

In Texas the same state of things existed. The next step after the ratification of these constitutions by the several States was their approval by Congress, and the declaration that the several States were entitled to representation. A bill to admit Arkansas was passed by the House on the 8th of May, and she at once resumed her former place in the Union. As a prerequisite to restoration, the legislature of each State was called upon to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Until such action was completed, the Reconstruction Acts retained their full authority and the military commander was paramount ruler. In July, 1868, the legislatures of the six States already named met and formally ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. The governors and members were properly installed, and official notice was given the respective district commanders of the action taken; on which proclamations were issued from headquarters that military government under the Reconstruction Acts had ceased. The general routine of civil government was at once resumed, and all cases pending in the military tribunals were at once turned over to the ordinary courts. At the same time Congress admitted to their seats Representatives and Senators chosen from the reconstructed States. Certain difficulties arose in the case of Georgia, which had taken advantage of a loophole

Arkansas
first to
take her
place in
the
Union

Six
States
ratify
Four-
teenth
Amend-
ment

And
military
rule
therein
ceases



COSTUMES OF THE KU KLUX KLAN.
(Courtesy of Walter L. Fleming.)

K. K. K.

This band of mystic creatures are evidently on the search for blood, and seem determined not to quit the field until their rapacious appetites are satisfied. A secret and well devised revolution seems to be going on. Revolutions never go backward, neither has the voracious appetite of fanaticism ever been known to be satiated while there was a single victim left upon which to vent its insane rage or glut its demoniac fury. The following is the last order circulating in this city:

K. K. K.

CLAN OF VEGA.

H. D. D. K. K. K. HOSPITALITY, }
Vega Clan, New Moon,
3d Month, Anno K. K. K. 1.
Order No. K. K.

Cleasmen—Meet at the Trysting Spot when Orion kisses the Zenith. 'Tis the doom of treason is Death. Dies I am.—The wolf is on his walk—the serpent coils to strike. Action! Action! Acton! Acton! By midnight and the Tomb; by Sword and Torch and the sacred oath at Zoroaster's Altar, I bid you come! The clausmen of Glen-Iran and Alpine will greet you at the new made grave.

REMEMBER THE IDLES OF APRIL.
By command of the Grand D. I. H.

CHEQU

We advise our friends to remember the Idles of April and so deport themselves that this horrible Klan will not molest them.—Mont. Adv.

ORDER ISSUED BY THE
KU KLUX KLAN.

in the constitution, decided that negroes were ineligible to any office in the State, and unseated all the negroes in the Legislature.

1866

It was soon evident that the reconstructed governments were not able to stand alone. Immediately upon the withdrawal of military government, partisan disputes had arisen and serious disturbances taken place, which the State authorities seemed unable to control. In some of the States the conditions were such that the State authorities called for military aid. Loyal leagues had been formed among the negroes for the advance of their newly found rights, and for mutual assistance in time of trouble. At the same time bodies of white men, calling themselves Kuklux Klans, bound themselves together by secret oaths to do anything and everything in their power to defeat negro supremacy. Many outrages were committed on both sides, and for a period deeds of intimidation and violence were common. The Kuklux aimed to terrify the negroes from exercising the suffrage, and to prevent them from taking office if elected. The organization contained many hotspurs who did not limit their persecutions to the more aggressive part of the negro population.

Secret
societies
formed
by
whites
and
blacks

Kuklux
outrages

While these things were taking place at the South, matters at Washington were assuming a serious character. The members of Congress, incensed at the President's course, determined upon his impeachment.

Impeach-
ment im-
pending

The relations of Secretary Stanton with the President had become so strained as to be almost

1867

Stanton
sus-
pended
by
JohnsonPresi-
dent
urges
repeal of
Recon-
struction
ActsAnent
Stan-
ton's sus-
pension

unbearable. On the 5th of August, the President asked for his resignation. Stanton refused. It was within the power of the President to suspend him without violating the provisions of the Tenure-of-Office Act, and he proceeded to do so. A week after Stanton's refusal he was suspended by executive order, and General Grant appointed to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*. Stanton protested, and declared that he submitted only to superior physical force. Grant disbelieved in the policy of Stanton's removal, but accepted the appointment and at once entered upon the duties of the office. In his message to the first session of the fortieth Congress, December, 1867, the President made a strong argument against the policy and constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts, as measures establishing martial law in times of peace, and as doing it for the purpose of establishing negro rule over the Southern communities; and he urged the repeal of these acts and the immediate admission of the Representatives and Senators from these communities to their seats in Congress.

A few days later, President Johnson sent a special message to the Senate with regard to the suspension of Mr. Stanton. In it he stated that mutual confidence between himself and Mr. Stanton no longer existed, and that the Secretary had declined to offer his resignation on account of his lack of confidence in the President's patriotism and integrity; and that such an attitude on the part of a subordinate toward his superior was

unendurable and constituted official misconduct of a grave character. He also referred to Stanton's withholding Baird's telegram from him just before the New Orleans riot. The Senate, however, passed a resolution to the effect that it did not concur in the suspension. Copies were sent to the President, General Grant, and Mr. Stanton, and the two latter were instructed to resume their special duties. Grant at once turned over the keys to Stanton and repaired to the official headquarters of the General of the Army. He had held the office for six months, and had very greatly improved its administration.

1867

Congress
rein-
states
Stanton

The President was aroused to a feeling of intense indignation, not only against Congress, but against Grant and Stanton. He had relied upon Grant to stand with him; and when Grant at once obeyed the behest of Congress, he believed he had deliberately deceived him, and accused him in a public communication of breaking his promise. As soon as Grant retired from the War Office, the President instructed him not to obey any orders from Stanton until he knew they came from the President. Grant replied in a communication, saying that he had been informed by Mr. Stanton that he had not received from the Executive any instructions limiting his authority to issue orders to the army, as had theretofore been his practice under the law and customs of the department; and that while this authority of the War Department was not countermanded it would be satisfactory evidence to him, General Grant,

Johnson
indig-
nant at
Grant

1867

that any orders issued from the War Department by the formal direction of the Secretary were authorized by the Executive. In closing, he disclaimed any intention whatever of disobeying any legal order of the President distinctly communicated.

President's
humiliating
position

This communication made the situation yet more unbearable. Under the Constitution, the President was the Executive of the United States, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy; and yet his official orders were now virtually ignored by one of his own subordinates, and he was cut off from any relation with one of the most important departments of the government, for which he alone was responsible, and that condition was approved by Congress.

Stanton
again dis-
missed

There were only two ways by which a dangerous crisis could be avoided: one was by the resignation of the President, the other by the withdrawal of the Senate from its position; but neither changed ground. The President, moved to desperation, issued an order on the 21st of February dismissing Stanton from the office of Secretary of War and appointing General Lorenzo Thomas in his place. On the same date he informed the Senate of his action, and transmitted to that body a copy of the order. Thomas, who was Adjutant-General of the Army, with headquarters at the War Office, at once sought out Stanton in his room and handed him the order. Stanton refused to recognize it, declaring the order illegal. General Thomas reported to the

Refuses
to obey
order

President, who ordered him to return to the War Office and take charge of its duties. 1868

As soon as the news was received in the Senate, a resolution was passed declaring that under the Constitution and laws the President had no power to remove the Secretary of War and designate any other officer to perform the duties of that office *ad interim*. Copies of this resolution were at once sent to the President, to Stanton, and to Thomas. In the House of Representatives the feeling rose to a greater height than in the Senate. Mr. John Covode of Pennsylvania offered a motion to the effect that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. This resolution was at once referred to the Committee on Reconstruction, all the members of which were radical Republicans and bitterly opposed to the administration. Intense feeling against the President
Impeachment resolution

Stanton was determined to prevent any possible movement of General Thomas for gaining possession of the office. He procured a warrant of arrest, and on the next morning had it served on General Thomas just after he had risen from his bed. He was taken before Judge Cartter, the Chief Justice of the District of Columbia. On the way to the court-room, General Thomas asked permission to see the President and inform him of the situation. The President said that he was glad of the opportunity to have the case go before the courts and be decided on its merits. Attorney-General Stanbery was notified. General Thomas was held to bail in the sum of \$5000 to Stanton procures Thomas' arrest

1868

Case is
dropped
by
Stanton

appear in court on Wednesday morning, the 26th. Bail was at once secured, and General Thomas went at once to the rooms of the Secretary of War and demanded the office. Stanton refused, and ordered him to his room as Adjutant-General. When the time came for General Thomas to appear in court, Stanton withdrew the complaint and the case did not reach the courts at all. On the same day the President sent to the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of War the name of Thomas Ewing, Sr., the father-in-law of General Sherman and an old friend of Lincoln. The Senate denied that there was a vacancy.

Resolu-
tion for
impeach-
ment
passed
in the
House

The Reconstruction Committee of the House, to whom the resolution for impeachment had been referred, reported on the same day that it be passed. A hot debate at once arose which lasted until nearly midnight. After a day's recess it was again taken up, and late in the afternoon a resolution for the impeachment of the President was passed by a vote of 126 to 47. It was a strict party vote, all those in favor being Republicans and all those voting in the negative being Democrats. A committee was appointed to acquaint the Senate with its resolution, and another committee to draw up the articles of impeachment, the latter consisting of Mr. Boutwell, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Bingham, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Logan, Mr. Julian, and Mr. Ward.

CHAPTER CX.

IMPEACHING THE PRESIDENT

On the 3d of March, the committee charged with preparing the articles of impeachment reported to the House, where they were adopted by a strict party vote. The managers for the conduct of the prosecution were Bingham, Boutwell, Wilson, Butler, Williams, Logan, and Stevens. On the 5th of March, the Senate organized itself as a court of impeachment, the Chief Justice of the United States administering the oath to the members of the court. The sergeant-at-arms was directed to serve the summons upon the President to appear and answer to the charges preferred against him. The court reassembled on the 13th, when the clerk reported that the writ was served upon the President on the 7th of the month; and that the President entered his appearance by his counsel, Attorney-General Stanbery, Benjamin R. Curtis, Jeremiah Black, William F. Evarts, and Thomas R. Nelson. Forty days were asked for the preparation of an answer to the charges, which were, in effect: First, that the President violated the Tenure-of-Office Act in deposing Stanton from the office of Secretary of War, and appointing Thomas to the office *ad interim*; second, that he violated the Anti-Conspiracy Act in conspiring

1868
March

Court of
impeach-
ment
organ-
ized

The Pres-
ident's
counsel

1868
March

Summary of
charges
against
the President

with Thomas to expel Stanton by force from the War Office, and to seize upon the property and papers of the United States in the War Office, and unlawfully disbursing the money appropriated for the military service and the department of war; third, that he violated the act of March 2, 1867, directing that the military orders and instructions of the President and Secretary of War should be issued through the General of the Army, by attempting to induce General Emory, the commander of the troops around Washington, to disregard this law and take his orders immediately from the President; fourth, that he committed high misdemeanors in the speeches denouncing the thirty-ninth Congress and declaring it to be "a Congress of only a part of the States."

Counsel
presents
answer
to the
charges
preferred

The impeachment managers on the part of the House refused to give the President any time at all for the preparation of his answer; but the Senate, after discussion, allowed him ten days, the time ending March 23. On that day the court opened, and the President's counsel appeared with the President's answer to the charges made against him. In this answer the President set forth that Stanton's case was not affected by the Tenure-of-Office Act, and that he held his office, according to the Constitution and laws of the United States and the wording of his commission, at the pleasure of the President; that, even if Stanton's case were covered by the act, the President was within his rights, and was not thereby committing any crime or misdemeanor; that the authority given to

General Thomas to act as Secretary of War, *ad interim*, was not an appointment nor an attempt to make an appointment, but was only a designation of a person to act temporarily until an appointment could be made by and with the consent of the Senate, an act which the President was empowered to do by the act of February 13, 1795, still in force; that he did not enter into any conspiracy with Thomas or anybody else to force Stanton out of the War Office, or to seize the property and papers of the United States in the War Office; that he could not in fact do so, since Stanton was not lawfully in the War Office, and since the President of the United States was the ultimate lawful custodian of the property and papers of the United States in the War Office, but that his communications with Thomas were orders from the President to a subordinate officer, to whom the President gave no authority to use force for their execution and who did not use any force in his attempt to execute them,—the intention of the President only being, if his authority should be resisted by Mr. Stanton, to create an issue before the Supreme Court of the United States and secure thereby a judicial determination of the rights and powers of the parties concerned, and not to do anything unlawfully; that he had never undertaken to induce General Emory to take his orders immediately from himself, in violation of the act of March 2, 1867, but that he had only expressed to General Emory, as he had to Congress, his conviction that the act was in violation

1868
March

Defense
of action
in case of
Stanton

Desire to
make a
test case

1868
March

Claims
right of
free
speech

And
explains
his
attitude
toward
Congress

of the Constitution, which conferred upon the President the powers of commander-in-chief of the army and navy; finally, he stated that his speeches were simply the expression of his opinions as a free citizen of the republic, which right was guaranteed to him and to every other citizen by the Constitution of the country, and could not be made out in any way to have any of the qualities of a crime or a misdemeanor; and that his declaration that the thirty-ninth Congress was a Congress of only a part of the States was intended by him in no other sense than that of an assertion that ten States of the Union were not represented in it, all of which ought to be so represented in it when they should send loyal men to take seats therein; and that he had never intended by this declaration to deny the validity of the acts of the Congress, or its power to originate and adopt any amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

House
denies
suffici-
ency of
answer

The counsel of the President, after filing this answer, asked for thirty days' time after the reply of the House to this answer, for the preparation of the President's case; but again the House refused, giving no time at all for this purpose. However, the Senate again interposed, and five days were granted. In reply to the President's argument, the House declared the answer of the President insufficient, denying the averments of the answer, and insisting upon the guilt of the President of the high crimes and misdemeanors charged.

The trial opened on the 30th of March and continued from that date until the 16th of May. It was conducted in so partisan a manner as to arouse criticism even on the part of many of the President's opponents. The court refused to listen to the evidence by which the President attempted to explain the purpose of his acts, and to show the advice upon which he had acted in their commission, although the Chief Justice had ruled in favor of its admission. The chief management of the case was assumed by General Butler, and his wanton offensiveness of manner did not a little to disgust spectators and create a revulsion of feeling. Before the close of the trial, it was clearly evident that the prosecution had not the strength which it was first supposed to have and the public had been led to believe. Already there were signs of disaffection with the proceedings among the Republican members of Congress. The court was composed of fifty-four Senators from twenty-seven States, under the presidency of the Chief Justice. It would require thirty-six votes for conviction. Of the members of the court, eight were Democrats; all these were certain to vote for acquittal. Up to the beginning of the trial, every point had been decided by a strict party vote; and the managers of the impeachment had counted upon the continuance of party devotion when it came to the decisive vote. The managers realized that some of the charges were doubtful, and resolved to get a decision first on those which were most likely to be successful. The one which careful

1868
April-
May

Prejudice
shown
by trial
court

Weak-
ness of
prose-
cution
becomes
manifest

Every
point
decided
by party
vote

1868

consideration convinced them to be the strongest—the last article in order, the eleventh—was fixed upon as the first to be put to vote. This article contained the charge of the attempt to defeat the execution of the Tenure-of-Office Act, and was so framed as to allege the President's opposition to military reconstruction as incidental to the attempt charged.

Impeach-
ment
fails by
one vote

With this article before the court, the Chief Justice put the question to each Senator: "How say you, Is the respondent, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, guilty or not guilty of the high misdemeanor as charged in this article?" Thirty-five votes were cast in the affirmative and nineteen in the negative; on which it was announced that the President had been acquitted upon that article, seven of the Republicans having voted with the twelve Democrats for acquittal. The court then adjourned to the 26th, when it again proceeded to vote upon the other articles, the result being the same as upon the eleventh. It was then voted that the court adjourn *sine die*.

Republi-
cans who
voted in
the
negative

The Republican Senators who voted against impeachment were Dixon of Connecticut, Doolittle of Wisconsin, Fessenden of Maine, Fowler of Tennessee, Grimes of Iowa, Henderson of Missouri, Norton of Minnesota, Patterson of Tennessee, Ross of Kansas, Trumbull of Illinois, and Van Winkle of West Virginia. In regard to the trial, Senator Trumbull said: "Once set the example of impeaching a President for what, when the excitement of the hour shall have subsided,

will be regarded as insufficient causes, and no future President will be safe who happens to differ with the majority of the House and two-thirds of the Senate on any measure deemed by them important, particularly if of a political character. Blinded by partisan zeal, with such an example before them, they will not scruple to remove out of the way any obstacle to the accomplishment of their purposes; and what then becomes of the checks and balances of the Constitution so carefully devised and so vital in its perpetuity?"

Stanton immediately sent in his resignation, and the President nominated General Schofield as Secretary of War. By the 27th of July the President had issued proclamations as required by law, announcing the ratification of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment by the legislatures of Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana, and that in those States the work of reconstruction was now completed. Only three States,—Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas,—still remained under martial law.

On the 21st of May, the Republican party met in convention at Chicago, for the nomination of candidates for the Presidency and the formation of platforms. General Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut was the presiding officer. Its main principles were good faith in the payment of the public debt with sound money, and equal suffrage by Congressional law in the Southern communities. General Grant was nominated for the Presidency, with Schuyler Colfax for second

1868

Objections to establishing precedent

Stanton resigns

Three States refuse to ratify Fourteenth Amendment

Republican convention in Chicago

1868

place on the ticket. The Democratic convention met in New York on the 4th of July. There was a split in the party, occasioned by what was called the "greenback" movement, which was rapidly spreading through the Western States. It was a declaration that all the public debt of the United States not made expressly payable in coin should be paid in United States paper, which Congress might order to be stamped, issued, and made legal tender to any amount it might please. This wing of the party had selected as the Presidential candidate George H. Pendleton of Ohio. The Democrats in the East, however, were determined to defeat his nomination; by clever scheming they did so, substituting Horatio Seymour, and nominating for the Vice-Presidency Francis P. Blair of Missouri.

Demo-
crats
split on
"green-
back"
issue

Grant
and
Colfax
elected

In the electoral college the electoral votes of thirty-four States were counted; of these, only eight cast their votes for Seymour and Blair, the votes standing 214 for Grant and Colfax, and 80 for Seymour and Blair. The popular vote stood 2,703,249 for Seymour and Blair, and 3,120,833 for Grant and Colfax.

John-
son's last
annual
message

On the 9th of December, 1868, President Johnson sent his last annual message to Congress. It was a calm and well-considered document, altogether unlike what his enemies had expected. Touching the reconstruction policy, he stated that in its enforcement Congress had arrayed the two races against each other in the South; had impaired, if not destroyed, the kindly relations that

had previously existed between them, and had given mortal offense to the civilized race by placing the uncivilized race in domination over it; and he respectfully submitted that the legislation which had produced such baleful consequences should be abrogated. He said that Congress had seriously impaired the power of the President to exact the necessary accountability of the public officers by its Tenure-of-Office Act, and had embarrassed the Executive in the exercise of his constitutional military functions by the Act of March 2, 1867; and he urged the repeal of both these measures. In regard to the public finances, he gave figures showing their threatening condition and suggesting measures by which it might be relieved.

On Christmas Day, the President issued a universal and unconditional pardon and amnesty to all persons who had participated either directly or indirectly in the rebellion, with the restoration of all their rights, privileges, and immunities under the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof. For this he was called to account by the Senate, which passed a resolution calling upon him to "transmit to the Senate a copy of any proclamation of amnesty made by him since the last adjournment of Congress, and also to communicate to the Senate by what authority of law the same was made." In answer, the President sent a copy of his proclamation, stating that he issued it by authority of the second section of Article 2 of the Constitution, which vested in the President the power to grant reprieves and pardons for

1868
Dec.

Urges
repeal of
unjust
measures

Procla-
mation of
pardon
called in
question
by
Senate

1869 offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment, and in accordance with precedents established by his predecessors in office: Washington, Adams, Madison, and Lincoln.

Submis-
sion of a
Fif-
teenth
Amend-
ment

A month later, a resolution was passed by both Houses for a Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, as follows: "The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; and Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." This was sent to the Secretary of State to be submitted to the State legislatures.

Johnson
retires

On the 4th of March, 1869, Andrew Johnson stepped down from the exalted office he had held during one of the most critical periods in American history. "Few men," says one of his biographers, "that have occupied so high a station, have ever been so unreasonably slandered and vilified as Andrew Johnson. His own unfortunate, irritating manners and methods will account for a good deal of the misunderstanding of his character, but the violence of the times was the occasion of a great deal more of it." The close of his term was marked by humiliations, not the least of which was the refusal of General Grant to sit in the same carriage with him in the procession from the White House to the Capitol on the 4th of March for the inauguration ceremonies.

His
trying
experi-
ence as
Execu-
tive

President Grant had not been long in power before he had reason to sympathize with Andrew

Johnson in the difficulties connected with his position. Four of the States were still denied recognition by Congress. Three of them,—Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas,—had not adopted State constitutions; while Georgia, which was represented in the House, had been denied admission to the Senate for the reason that her Legislature, after electing Senators, had rejected the negro members elected to that body on the ground that negroes were not eligible to legislative seats in Georgia. On the very day of Grant's inauguration, the two Houses voted to refuse admission to the representatives from Georgia to either House, and referred their credentials to the Committee on Elections.

1869

Grant
finds his
position
no
sinecure

It was Grant's earnest desire to bring these States into their former relations at the earliest possible moment. In the early part of April, in a special message to Congress he asked that provision might be made for submitting to the voters of Virginia the constitution drafted and adopted by the convention at Richmond nearly a year before, and suggested also that a like policy might be pursued with Mississippi. Congress at once took action; and on the 14th day of May, the President issued a proclamation commanding the State constitution, framed for Virginia by the Richmond convention, to be submitted to the popular vote for ratification or rejection. At a special election the constitution was ratified; and at the next session of Congress, December, 1869, the newly elected Senators and Representatives from

Action by
Congress
regard-
ing
Virginia
and Mis-
sissippi

1869

Virginia,
Missis-
sippi, and
Texas
restored
to
Federal
relations

Virginia presented themselves for admission to Congress. After some discussion, late in the next month Virginia was formally restored to her proper Federal relations, on the condition that the constitution of the State should never be so amended as to deprive persons enfranchised therein of the suffrage, or any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the educational rights and privileges provided therein, or any citizen of the United States of the equal right to hold office on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, or of the school rights provided in the constitution of the State. In Mississippi the result of the vote on the constitution was the same as in Virginia; and on the 23d of February the bill for the restoration of Mississippi, and the admission of the Senators and Representatives from the State to Congress on the same conditions as those executed in Virginia, became a law. On the 30th of March the Congressional measure for the complete restoration of Texas to her proper Federal relations, upon the same fundamental condition as those required of Virginia and Mississippi, became law.

Complete
change of
Cabinet

The President soon found that the Tenure-of-Office Act was an unendurable hindrance to the efficient discharge of his duties. None of President Johnson's secretaries seemed to incline to remain in the Cabinet, and it was left to the President to select his own advisers. These were E. B. Washburne of Illinois, Secretary of State; A. T. Stewart of New York, Secretary of the Treasury;

A. B. Borie of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; J. D. Cox of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; E. R. Hoar of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; J. A. J. Creswell of Maryland, Postmaster-General. General Schofield remained temporarily Secretary of War. It was found later that Mr. Stewart, being a large importer of foreign goods, was disqualified by statute from holding the office of Secretary of the Treasury. When this was discovered he sent in his declination, and George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts was nominated to fill his place. Mr. Washburne resigned his office within a few days, and Hamilton Fish of New York was appointed his successor. General Schofield was succeeded by John A. Rawlins of Illinois. In June, Mr. Borie resigned as Secretary of the Navy, and was succeeded by G. M. Robeson of New Jersey.

1869

Grant's
Cabinet

Soon after his inauguration, President Grant made a statement that he should not interfere with the existing incumbents of the departmental offices unless they should commit offenses such as would call for their suspension, so long as the Tenure-of-Office Act should remain in force. On the 9th of March, a bill was introduced into the House calling for its immediate repeal; which was passed without debate the same day, by a vote of 138 to 16. The Judiciary Committee reported a substitute which provided that the act, instead of being repealed, should be suspended from operation until the next session of Congress; the intent of this was so evident that the Senate itself would

Repeal of
Tenure-
of-Office
Act

1869

Disagree-
ment
over
suspensions
from
office

not entertain it. It was accordingly withdrawn, and the existing measure was superseded by one allowing the President to suspend from office without assigning any cause for the same to the Senate, or even reporting that suspension to the Senate; and to nominate to the Senate a person to fill the vacancy, and, in case of rejection, to nominate another person. This bill also was disagreed to, and still another substitute was offered, but no action was taken.

Grant's
recom-
menda-
tion

A vindi-
cation of
ex-President
John-
son's
views

The President held to the belief that any control whatever of the Senate over the dismissal from office was not warranted by the Constitution; and he regarded the attempt of the Senate to cling to any shadow of such a power as a personal affront to himself. Accordingly, in his first annual message, he recommended the repeal of the Tenure-of-Office Act, declaring it unconstitutional and inconsistent with a faithful and efficient administration of the government. This stand was a complete vindication of Johnson's views, and also of his deeds. This was too much to ask of Congress; and in spite of the President's demand, the acts remained on the statute-book for nearly twenty years, but as dead legislation.

In the same month a bill was presented in Congress to provide for the enforcement of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution; it placed the whole control of registration and elections, when and where Representatives to Congress should be chosen, in the hands of the United States officers, supervisors,

deputy marshals, commissioners, and judges of the United States courts. This bill was followed in April by another, known as the Kuklux Act, which assumed powers plainly belonging to the States themselves. This act assumed that combinations of private individuals like the Kuklux Klan constituted rebellion against the United States, and authorized the President to suspend the privileges of the writ of *habeas corpus* within such districts as he might designate.

1869-70

Legisla-
tion in
regard
to the
Kuklux
Klan

On the 12th of October, the President issued a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, declaring that these hostile combinations of persons continued in their armed resistance to the civil authorities of the State, and commanding their members to deliver their arms into the hands of the United States officers in those districts within five days. Three more proclamations to the same effect were issued; but not having been obeyed, a final proclamation, suspending the privileges of *habeas corpus*, was issued on the 10th of November. A strong military force was sent to the seat of troubles. Five or six hundred persons were arrested and kept in confinement for some time, many of them being released afterwards without trial. A few of the number were convicted and sentenced to fine or imprisonment.

Fol-
lowed by
procla-
mations

And use
of
military
force in
South
Carolina

By the 1st of January, 1870, all the States, with the exception of Georgia, had been readmitted and were represented in Congress. New conditions were added to the admission of that State; and so great was the opposition to them that

1870

Georgia
still
unrecon-
structedNew Leg-
islature
fulfills
condi-
tionsAnd
Georgia
again
becomes
a mem-
ber of the
Union

General Terry was authorized to resume the powers in Georgia of the commander of a military district, as provided by the Reconstruction Act. General Terry found that there were members in the Legislature who could not take either of the oaths or affirmations prescribed under that act. These he caused to be removed from their seats, which gave the Republicans in the Legislature a majority. This Legislature proceeded to fulfill the final conditions required of Georgia,—namely, the ratification of the proposed Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and the ratification also of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Legislature elected new United States Senators, both Republicans. On the 25th of February, a bill was reported from the Committee on Reconstruction declaring Georgia fully restored as a State of the Union; but, owing to an amendment proposed by General Butler, there was a delay of months before it became law. On the 15th of July, the bill passed both the Senate and House, and Georgia became once more a member of the Union. With the passage of this bill the era of legislative reconstruction by Congress terminated, and at the next session of Congress the Senators and Representatives from Georgia were admitted to their seats.

CHAPTER CXI.

THE SOUTHERN REACTION

Although the States had now ostensibly resumed their places in the Union, their troubles were by no means at an end. Irritated and angered beyond control by the impending conditions of negro supremacy, certain districts in the South set law and order at defiance in their attempts to prevent the blacks from voting or taking any part in political affairs. The negroes, however, through their secret organizations were enabled to participate in the election for State officers and legislative members, and to help operate the newly established State governments, and through their success the way was opened for the so-called "carpet-bag" governments, which held power during the next five or six years.

It is not at all probable that the framers of the Reconstruction Acts understood the conditions which were to follow their passage. Justly enough, they were irritated at the position assumed by some of the States in refusing civil equality to the freedmen and in enacting laws which nullified the Fourteenth Amendment. There was a desire on the part of the government to withdraw the troops from the South, now that the war had ended, and the States were again within the Union, but

1870

Intolerance of negro participation in public affairs

Unforeseen conditions

1870

Two
horns to
a di-
lemmaContest
between
white
and
blackGreat
social
disorder
in
Alabama

it was impossible to do so on account of their attitude towards the blacks. Congress was placed in a position where it had to choose between the alternative of continuing military rule in the South indefinitely, or giving the negro the political power with which to maintain his civil rights. Three of the States,—Virginia, Georgia, and Texas,—foresaw the possibilities of negro rule and held out until so many of the leading men had been amnestied by Congress and resumed their eligibility to the franchise and for office that they were able to escape largely the suffering experienced by the others. In North Carolina, in the State election of 1870, the white voters sank all party differences and voted as one man, thereby gaining control of the Legislature and preserving the State from negro supremacy. By their own fault, the States of Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi were destined to pass through the fiery furnace of political and social misrule.

No other State had such a peculiar experience as Alabama during this period. No other State had such a low class of officials in the beginning of reconstruction. In one community, the circuit clerk was under indictment for horse-stealing; in another, the registrar, who was also superintendent of education, postmaster, and circuit clerk, had a negro wife; the sheriff and the solicitor were negroes who could not read. In one county the probate judge was under indictment for murder; in another county the circuit clerk

killed his brother-in-law and attempted to kill the collector of internal revenue. The chancellor was a former slave-trader and the marshal a former slave-owner. The sheriff of Madison County could not write; and so it was all over Alabama.

1870

The first lieutenant-governor after Alabama was readmitted to the Union, was an illiterate Federal soldier from Wisconsin who was stranded in the State after the war by illness, and cared for by the family of Jeff Thompson, former Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, whose kindness he repaid by stealing the Secretary's private papers, which he offered to sell back for \$10,000. Failing to get this sum, he subsequently disposed of them to Thompson's lawyer for \$300. The whole matter was exposed before his election, but it had no effect. The secretary of state was from Maine, the treasurer was from New York, the auditor was from Wisconsin, the superintendent of industrial resources was from Pennsylvania, the chief justice was from New York. Most of the State Legislature was made up of aliens and negroes. The national Senators and Representatives from the State were all so-called carpet-baggers,¹ some of them men of intelligence and

Carpet-
baggers
in
Alabama

¹ Under the protection of the national power and with the numerical superiority of the negroes in several States, it was easy for low white men to obtain control of the local governments. Out of these circumstances there came into political power the class of men known as "carpet-baggers," so described from the insulting presumption that the entire worldly estate of each one of the class was carried in a carpet-bag, enabling him to fly out in any moment of danger from the State whose domestic policy he sought to control. The prospect of the successes of the new movements induced a number of former rebels to join in it, and to them the epithet "scalawag" was applied. Many

1870

honesty, who did their best to better the social and political conditions in the State. Their influence was often modified, however, and sometimes neutralized, by the acts of their colleagues, white and black.

Blacks in
control

At the meeting of the first Legislature after reconstruction, hundreds of blacks swarmed in and took possession of the galleries, the vacant seats, the aisles, and the windows. They were invited by resolution to fill the galleries, and from

of those denounced under the epithet of "carpet-bagger" and "scalawag" were honorable and true men, but a majority were unobtrusive and not brought strongly into popular view, while many of those who became entrusted with the power of State governments and found themselves unexpectedly in possession of great authority, were not morally equal to its responsibility. The consequence was that some of the States had reached governments officered by bad men who misled the negro and engaged in riots. Their transgressions were made so conspicuous that the Republican leaders of other States, who were really trying to act their part worthily and honorably were obscured from view and did not obtain a fair hearing at the bar of public opinion.

Blaine
upon the
con-
ditions
in the
South

The government of South Carolina, under its series of Republican administrations, was of such character as brought shame upon the Republican party, exposed the negro voters to unmerited obloquy, and thus wrought for the cause of free government and equal suffrage in the South incalculable harm. The hostility of Southern men to carpet-bag rule was intensive and irrepressible. The failure of the Rebellion left its participants stripped of property, depressed in spirit, angry, and unreconciled. Northern men appearing among them recalled in an offensive manner the power that had overcome, and, as they thought, humiliated them. Even the most decorous and considerate behavior on the part of these men would perhaps have failed to conciliate the Southern population. But while unable to do this, they could no doubt in due season have secured public confidence if they had administered the trusts confided to them with an eye single to the prosperity and happiness of the people over whom, by a strange concurrence of circumstances, they were empowered to rule. If these men had in all cases established as good and trustworthy governments in the South as they had reared in the North, they would have conferred upon the reconstructed States a blessing which, as prejudice wore away, would have caused their names to be respected and honored.—Blaine's *"Twenty Years of Congress,"* Vol. ii., p. 471.

that place they took part in the affairs of the House, voting on every measure with loud shouts. The negro members watched their white leaders and voted aye and no as they voted. When tired, they went to sleep and often had to be awakened to vote. One of the members moved that a limit be placed on the length of the chaplain's prayer. Many of the members only saw the districts they represented after the election, and some never saw them.

1870-3

Lack of
dignity
in the
House

The State constitution prohibited United States officers from holding State offices, but nearly all Federal officers were office-holders. Some of the members were continually absent, but drew pay. No less than twenty members had been indicted or convicted, or were indicted during the session, of various crimes from theft to murder. The Legislature passed special acts to relieve members from the penalties for stealing, adultery, bigamy, arson, riot, illegal voting, assault, bribery, and murder. A room in the Capitol was set apart for the accommodation of those who wished to interview negro members. The Speaker of the House boasted that he received \$1700 for engineering a bill through the House. A lottery promoter paid \$6000 to get his charter through the Legislature. One Senator had \$35,000 put into his hands for distribution to carry through the passage of a railroad bond issue. He kept the larger part of it, however, for himself. Another received from a railroad company, for some service, enough to start a small bank. Fights were frequent in the House; on one

Lawless-
ness of
membersBribery
and cor-
ruption
in full
sway

1874

occasion a member chased another to the secretary's desk, trying to shoot him, but was prevented by the secretary. In the cloak-rooms and halls of the Capitol were fruit and peanut stands, bars, and lunch-counters.

Ignorance
all too
common

Some of the laws passed failed in their object because of mistakes in spelling. In a communication from the lieutenant-governor, thirty-nine such mistakes were found. Finally it was found necessary to employ a spelling-clerk to rewrite the bills submitted by the members.

Whites
unite to
bring
about a
change

In 1874, nearly the entire white population sank all party lines and came together at the polls. During that campaign there were frequent conflicts between the whites and blacks, which the Democrats claimed were incited by Republican leaders to invoke the aid of Federal authorities in the pending election. The Republican press, on the other hand, claimed that these acts resulted from the folly of the Democrats, and that the troubles were never instigated by the Republicans. The presence of the United States troops worked two ways. It encouraged the negroes, who took it for granted that they were sent to see that they voted the Republican ticket, while it intensified the zeal of Democrats to win in the election. The campaign was a Democratic success. The election was carried by over 10,000 majority of all the State offices, and large majorities in both legislative branches. Large numbers of negroes voted the Democratic ticket, many of them, of course, on intimidation. When the blacks had discovered that there was to

be no return to slavery, they lost much of their antagonism to the whites and became surprisingly indifferent. Another fact was now of advantage to the whites: no Democrat would go on the bond of a Republican official, and so many of these last were unable to secure the offices to which they had been elected. Their offices becoming vacant, Democrats were appointed in their place by the governor. Others sold out to the white candidates or executed bonds which would not be accepted.

1874

Some
helpful
influ-
ences

The new Democratic governor, George H. Houston, devoted himself to disentangling affairs and getting them in order. His two terms were marked by the strictest economy. All the superfluous offices were abolished and the salaries of the remaining ones reduced. No appropriations were made by the Legislature beyond what were absolutely necessary. The Democrats now demanded a new constitution, objecting to that of 1868 as being forced upon the whites, who had no voice in framing it; that it had not secured good government; that it had wrecked the credit of the State by allowing the endorsement of private corporations; that it provided for a costly administration; that it had prepared a complicated and unworkable school system which had destroyed the schools; that there was no power of expansion for the judiciary; and, above all, that it was not legally adopted. This demand was opposed by the Republicans. Notwithstanding, a new constitution was framed and adopted the following year. From most of the other Southern States solid Democratic

Com-
mendable
reformsObjec-
tions to
existing
consti-
tution

1868

Republican
losses in
Congress

delegations were in this same year sent to Congress, and, from the majority of two-thirds in the preceding session, the Republicans found themselves in possession of only about one-third of the seats in the House of Representatives at the beginning of the forty-fourth Congress.

South
Caro-
lina's
consti-
tution

When South Carolina, in 1868, again took her place in the Union, the new constitution was bitterly opposed by a great majority of the people of the State, and the Democratic State Central Committee forwarded a protest which declared that:

Demo-
cratic
protest

"The constitution was the work of Northern adventurers, Southern renegades, and ignorant negroes; not one per cent. of the white population approves it, and not two per cent. of the negroes who voted for its adoption understood what this act of voting implied. The constitution enfranchises every male negro over the age of twenty-one and disenfranchises many of the poorest and best white men of the State. The negro being in the large numerical majority as compared with the whites, the effect is that the new constitution establishes in this State negro supremacy, with all its train of countless evils. A superior race is put under the rule of an inferior race. The abject slaves of yesterday are the flushed freedmen of to-day, and think you there can be any just lasting of this reconstruction on this basis? The committee respectfully reply, in behalf of their white fellow-citizens, that this can not be. We do not mean to threaten residents by arms, but the people of our State will never quietly submit to negro rule. We may have to pass under the yoke you have thrust upon us, but by moral agencies, by political organizations, by every possible means left us, we will keep up this compact until we have regained the political control handed down to us by an honored ancestry. This is a duty we owe to the land that is ours, and the graves that it contains, and the race of which you and we are alike

Against
negro
control

members, the sovereignty of which on earth God has ordained and they themselves have illustrated on the most brilliant pages of the world's history."

1868-72

The new State officers took office July 9, 1868. In the first Legislature, under the new constitution, the Senate consisted of thirty-three members, of whom nine were negroes. The House of Representatives consisted of 124 members, of whom only forty-eight were white men, fourteen of these being Democrats.

Blacks
have
majority
in Legis-
lature

R. K. Scott was elected the first governor, and served for two terms of two years each. During the period of his administration, no public works of any importance were begun or completed, while there was an increase in the funded debt of \$13,000,000. He was succeeded, in 1873, by Governor F. J. Moses, Jr., whose administration was even more extravagant and corrupt than that of Scott.

Two
corrupt
govern-
ors

In 1872, the corruption of the State governments in the South had become almost incredible. In South Carolina the House of Representatives, the majority of the members of which were negroes, spent \$95,000 in the furnishing of its chamber, for the previous furnishing of which less than \$5000 was paid. Desks were purchased at \$125 each, chairs at \$60, mirrors at \$600, clocks at \$600, and cuspidors at \$8 each. From 1868 to 1872, \$200,000 was expended for furniture for the legislative chambers alone, with bills for incidentals amounting in one session to \$350,000, \$125,000 of which was spent for a free-lunch counter and bar, the

Some in-
stances
of glaring
extrava-
gance

1868-72

Great
increase
in the
State
debt

members paying nothing for the food, liquors, and cigars consumed. The printing bills averaged more than \$150,000 a year. Franchises of all kinds were sold and the credit of the State pledged for all sorts of enterprises which were promoted by combinations of legislators and officials. When these governments came into power in 1868, the debt of South Carolina was five millions of dollars, with nearly enough assets to pay it. Four years later the debt was more than eighteen millions, with no assets. The taxes had been raised from less than \$500,000 a year on a valuation of over \$400,000,000, to \$2,000,000 a year on a valuation of less than \$200,000,000 of property.

Career of
Senator
Patter-
son

One of the most notorious of the adventurers and plunderers during this period, in the State of South Carolina, was United States Senator John J. Patterson, who paid, according to his own statement, \$50,000 to secure his election. The negro Speaker of the House, who testified in the investigation before Governor Hampton, said that Patterson was a wholesale corrupter of the negro Legislature; that he instigated much of the financial legislation and was a sharer in the spoils obtained by it. He stated that Patterson, on one occasion, offered him \$10,000 for a bunch of blank pay certificates that he could fill out, that they were given and that Patterson filled them out with fictitious names for \$30,000 and drew the money. It was shown, too, that the most expensive wines, liquors, and cigars were ordered to be sent to the boarding-houses of the members of the

Legislature, without stint. At the close of the session the carpets in the public buildings were torn up, and with the furniture were sent to the private houses of the leaders, and appropriations made for refurnishing the despoiled apartments. Of the \$400,000 paid for State House furnishings in four years, only \$18,000 worth was left. A house of ill-repute was completely furnished at the expense of the State. During one watermelon season, \$1800 was paid to a single fruit-dealer for watermelons alone, and vouchers were presented for all kinds of ladies' and men's apparel with the most unblushing effrontery. So ignorant were many of the members that they undoubtedly believed that they were only exercising their just rights in so doing. All this while the free schools were closed, the teachers unpaid, and the State institutions for the sick, poor, and insane were utterly ignored and neglected.

Mr. James S. Pike, a member of the editorial staff of the New York *Tribune*, and a liberal Republican, was sent by the paper to South Carolina, in 1873, to describe the political conditions of the State for his paper. He gives the following vivid description of the South Carolina Legislature, which he visited while it was in session:

"The body is almost literally a black parliament, and it is the only one on the face of the earth which is the representative of a white constituency and the professed exponent of an advanced type of modern civilization. The Speaker is black; the clerk is black; the doorkeepers are black; the little pages are black; the chairman of Ways and Means is

1873

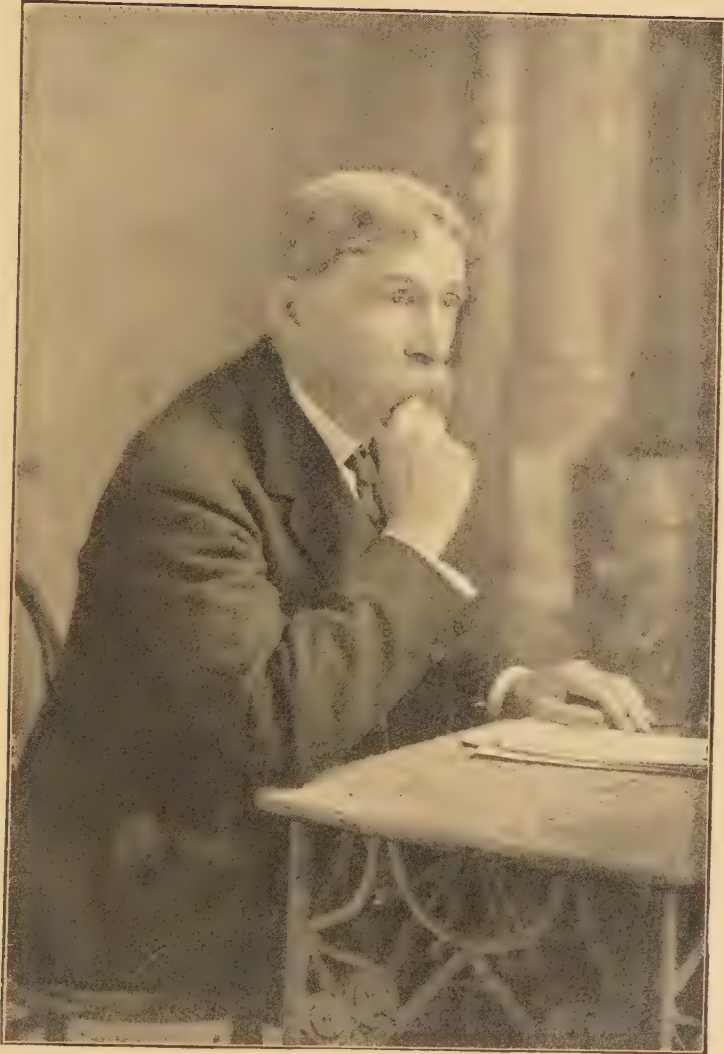
Vice
reigns
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public
institu-
tions
sufferMake-up
of the
Legis-
lature

1873

A graphic
description
of
the
situation

Public
officials
loot the
State
treasury
with im-
punity

black; and the chaplain is coal black. At some of the desks sit colored men whose type it would be hard to find outside of Congo; whose costumes, visages, attitudes, and expression only befit the forecastle of a buccaneer. It must be remembered, also, that these men, with not more than half a dozen exceptions, have been themselves slaves, and that their ancestors were slaves for generations. The corruption of the State government of South Carolina is a topic that has grown threadbare in the handling. The last administration stole right and left with a recklessness and audacity without parallel. The robbers under it included all grades of people. The thieves had to combine to aid one another. It took a combination of the principal authorities to get at the treasury, and they had to share the plunder alike. All the small fry had their proportions, the legislators and lobby men included. They did not attempt even to conceal their plunder. They are all tinctured with fraud, and some of them are such scandalous swindles that the courts have been able temporarily to stop their payment. The whole of the late administration, which terminated its existence in November, 1872, was a morass of rottenness, and the present administration was born of the corruptions of that. But for the exhaustion of the State, there is no good reason to believe it would steal less than its predecessor. So tainted is the administration with corruption, so universally implicated is everybody about the government, of such a character are the segments of society at the capital, that there is no such thing as an initial legal opinion to be brought against the seamps. They plunder, and glory in it; they steal, and defy you to prove it. The legalization of fraudulent script is regarded simply as a smart operation. The purchase of a Senatorship is considered only a profitable trade. Those who make the most out of the operation are the best fellows. The new governor has the reputation of spending \$30,000 or \$40,000 a year on a salary of \$3500, but his financial operations are taken as a matter of course. The total amount of the stationery bill of the House for the twenty years preceding 1861 averaged \$400 per annum; last year it was \$16,000. The mass of black representatives, however ignorant in other respects, seem to be well schooled in the arts of corruption. They knew



D. H. CHAMBERLAIN.

precisely what they were about and just what they wanted. This is the kind of moral education the ignorant blacks of the State are getting in their legislatures. The first lessons were, to be sure, given by whites from abroad, but the success of the carpet-baggers has stimulated the growth of knavish native demagogues who bid fair to surpass their instructors."

1874

 Educa-
ting the
blacks

The political campaign of 1874 in South Carolina was a determined effort on the part of a majority of the Republican party of the State to secure political reform and a reduction of public expenditures. At the party convention of that year, Daniel H. Chamberlain, who had been attorney-general under Scott, was nominated for governor. The contest was a bitter one, many Republicans bolting the nomination and voting with the Democratic party. At the same time a new Legislature was elected consisting of eighty-two Republicans and forty-two Democrats in the House, and twenty-two Republicans and eleven Democrats in the Senate. Governor Chamberlain was inaugurated December 1, 1874. His first official utterance was a plain, business-like statement of the existing conditions, no word in which could be construed as an evidence of partisanship. The message was prepared under circumstances provocative of criticism and party expression, but no trace of either was apparent in it. It showed that the newly elected governor fully understood, and was not afraid to reveal to the uttermost, the facts and causes of the evils under which the community labored, and that he was in earnest in the expression of his intention to eradicate them. The so-called "white man's party" in the State was

 Effort at
reform in
South
Carolina

 The new
govern-
or's
message

1874

The
message
com-
mended
by both
parties

Grafters
mistaken
in Cham-
berlain

highly elated, because it seemed that now there was to be at last an effort to check the extravagance and demoralization which had become unbearable. They knew that the governor was, by conviction as well as by association, a practiced and ardent believer of the doctrine of equal rights, and that he believed also that the freedmen were capable of sharing, on equal terms, the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The inaugural address was an assurance of good intentions, and the representative journals of the State, Democratic as well as Republican, gave it hearty commendation. Many of those, however, who had supported Governor Chamberlain in the campaign were thoroughly disappointed. They were those who had taken part in the fraudulent acts of the former administration, and who had supposed that their opportunities for graft were to be continued. They regarded Governor Chamberlain's professions during the campaign, of devotion to economy, justice, and reform, as political cant, but when they found that he was truly in earnest and would have to be fought and put down, they determined not to yield without a struggle.

Wrong
use of
power by
blacks

In many sections, as soon as the freedmen had become citizens, they became the prey of leaders, some of them native-born and some adventurers from other States, who sanctioned and encouraged the disposition to make full use of power for personal advantage. The political privileges to which the negroes were now admitted meant to them simply opportunity, and they could not

understand the motives of a magistrate who recommended economy, opposed perquisites, and set up standards of public service. Such ideas they considered as absurd and were determined to defeat any attempt to put them into practice. The first opportunity to try their strength offered itself in the December following the election. A vacancy occurred in the Charleston circuit which was to be filled by the election of a judge by the Legislature. There were three candidates: one, a shrewd, unscrupulous negro politician, W. J. Whipper, a man whose private character was on a par with that enjoyed in politics; the other candidates were E. C. Baker, a lawyer from Massachusetts, of no particular standing, and Jacob Reid, a native of the State, a man of high character. The negro members of the Legislature, under guidance of their white leaders, solidly combined, and everything pointed to Whipper's election. It was the custom for the candidates for office to attend a public meeting of the Legislature and make addresses in their own behalf, their friends also being allowed to speak in support of their favorites. Governor Chamberlain resolved to attend the meeting and state his opinion of the candidates. This move was strongly opposed by all his friends, as such an action would be altogether unprecedented, and would be likely to provoke violence, but the governor insisted. His address was frequently interrupted, and was accompanied by numerous other riotous actions. It had the desired effect, however. When the matter

1874
Dec.

Honesty
not ap-
preciated

Struggle
over
Whipper

1874-5 finally came before the Legislature, Whipper was defeated.

Moses
also
beaten

Soon afterwards another vacancy was to be filled by the Legislature in the office of judge of the Third Circuit. For this the notorious ex-governor, Moses, presented himself and received the support of Whipper's adherents. He met with Whipper's fate, however, and Major Shaw, an excellent Confederate soldier and lawyer of repute, was elected. When the Legislature reassembled on January 3, 1875, Governor Chamberlain sent a special message which was warmly praised by conservatives and Republicans alike. The *Charleston News and Courier*, the leading paper in the State of South Carolina, said of it:

Commen-
dation of
the gov-
ernor's
special
message

"It contains not a single recommendation which is not, in the main, wise, prudent, and just, and the tone of the message is as healthy as its policy is sound. Our Republican governor tells the general assembly in plain words that in South Carolina the constitution shall be the highest law, and he places on record before the people a manly declaration that whenever the necessities of any political party shall require him to disregard or abuse the public trusts, his allegiance to that party will cease. There is a world of cheer and comfort in these words; there is reason for hopefulness and for confidence; and we say once more to Governor Chamberlain that so long as he maintains his present position, so long as he stands on the high plane of his inaugural address and special message, the honest people of all classes will sustain him and strengthen him, not as conservatives or as Republicans, but as citizens of South Carolina."

About this time trouble broke out in the county of Edgefield, and the situation became serious.

The State militia, an irresponsible and undisciplined force of colored men, which had been organized by Governor Scott for partisan purposes, and had been made use of by the county authorities to enforce arbitrary proceedings of petty officials, had been guilty of lawless behavior which had brought on collisions with the citizens. Governor Chamberlain, after a thorough investigation, ordered the militia to deliver up their arms, and required all military organizations, not forming a part of the State militia, to forthwith disband. On the carrying out of this order, peaceful conditions were at once restored.

1875

Colored
State
militia
forced to
disband

In February, 1875, another crisis occurred. The profligate extravagance of the annual appropriation bill, passed by previous Legislatures, had been criticised, not only in the State, but throughout the country. Governor Chamberlain himself, in his speeches as a candidate and in his official utterances after election, had called attention to and strongly condemned this continued policy of waste. In spite of these protests, an appropriation bill had been prepared whose provisions were nearly as extravagant as those introduced in the days of Scott and Moses. The governor forestalled its presentation by an official letter to the Committee on Finance, giving in detail his idea of what the annual appropriation bill should be, and how it might be framed to meet the requirements of economical administration. His suggestion, which was adopted, cut down the proposed appropriations over \$100,000.

Governor
fights an
extrava-
gant
appropri-
ation bill

1875

Distribu-
tion of
the State
funds in
different
banks

Soon after Governor Chamberlain came into office, he discovered that throughout the administration of Governor Moses the funds of the State had been kept in one depository, the Bank and Trust Company at Columbia. The State funds sometimes amounted to more than a million dollars, while the capital of the bank was only \$125,000. One of the governor's first acts was to take away the larger part of the State's deposit from this bank, and distribute it among five other institutions, two in Columbia and three in Charleston, all having larger capital and the reputation of a more conservative management. This move was strongly opposed by nearly every leading Republican in the State, as the president and owner of the bank exercised a great influence over most of the members of the Legislature. Immediately following the governor's action, the Legislature passed an act requiring all the public funds to be deposited in two designated banks in Columbia, one of them the Bank and Trust Company. This act the governor promptly vetoed.

The
governor
blocks
the
schemers

Another of the governor's vetoes during this session was that of a bill for paying the floating debt of the State,—a scheme to legalize and liquidate the vast and corrupt obligations which had been incurred and transmitted by the previous administration. No act of the governor had so disappointed and enraged the corrupt faction in politics; the plunderers were full of wrath, and determined to override the veto. That action was delayed, however, and after three days the bill

became a law without the governor's approval. A few days later, however, the Legislature receded from its action, admitted the validity of the veto, and passed a second bill omitting the objectionable features of the first one, which was approved by the governor. During this session, Governor Chamberlain vetoed nineteen bills, and in each case the proposed measure was abandoned, revised, and passed in a form which avoided the governor's objections.

1875

Good
wrought
by vetoes

On the 16th of December, 1875, the governor was invited to deliver an address before the students of the State University. One of the matters to come before the Legislature that year was the election of the judges of the circuit court in the First and Third Circuits. To fill these vacancies, Whipper and Moses had been selected by their adherents. During the governor's absence from the capital the election was sprung upon the Legislature, and both were declared elected. The whole decent part of the community was shocked by the result. On the governor's return, he laid the case before competent legal authority, and refused to sign the commissions of the two for reasons which were duly set forth, one of them being that the Legislature, in its haste to elect judges, had transgressed the law and usurped authority. The position taken by the governor was disputed, but the courts of the State in another and similar case, decided the rightfulness of his action.

Governor
sus-
tained by
the
courts

The sensation produced in the ranks of the conspirators was something not to be described.

1875

Impeach-
ment
threat-
ened

The work of pacification was undone in a moment, and the animosities of the whites towards the colored race as rulers were instantly revived. The entire body of colored Republicans denounced the governor as a traitor to his party, and declared their determination to succeed in spite of him. His impeachment was strongly urged, and it was threatened to force the retirement of the other judges by voting to stop their salaries. Whipper declared that he would take his place on the bench, even without his commission. On the other hand, the governor was strengthened and encouraged by the commendation of those citizens who appreciated the exact character of the issue. A call was issued for a mass-meeting, to take place in Charleston, to express the thanks of the people for the action of the governor. It was held on the 27th day of December, and was the first of numerous popular demonstrations held in most of the counties of the State. In August, Whipper and Moses threatened to possess themselves by force of the seats on the bench to which they claimed they had been legally elected. The governor issued a proclamation of warning, and appointed a special body of constables to prevent the accomplishment of this purpose. At the same time he issued a proclamation in which he declared that such an attempt would be regarded and treated, not only as an unlawful and riotous disturbance of the public peace, but also as an outrage upon judicial authority, not to be tolerated in a civilized State. This decided stand awed the

His firm
position
overawes
the con-
spirators

conspirators, and no further attempt was made to carry out their plans.

1876

Of the meetings which were held throughout the State to protest against the action of the Legislature, and to sustain the action of the governor, almost all passed resolutions in favor of a thorough reorganization of the Democratic party, and appointed committees to effect it. In some places the appeal was for the organization of all the friends of honest government without regard to party; in other places reorganization of the Democratic party was considered the only proper and safe means. At one of the large meetings held, the following resolutions were passed which may be considered as representative of all:

Reorgan-
ization of
Demo-
cratic
party ad-
vocated

“Resolved, That in view of our repeated failures to reform the State government by the policy of coöperation with the conservative element of the Republican party, who professes the same object, and in view of recent events, we recognize the absolute and immediate necessity of reorganizing the Democratic party to restore an honest and economical government.

Resolu-
tions
adopted
on one
occasion

“Resolved, That the Democratic party of South Carolina will, in the future, as it has in the past, support principles, not men, and we hereby extend a cordial invitation to all men in the State who desire honest government to unite with us at least until we have accomplished our purpose.

“Resolved, That the coöperation now invited is not with the two men who have heretofore deluded, deceived, and betrayed our colored fellow-citizens, but with the great mass of that class who we believe are willing to rescue the State from the grasp of these unprincipled adventurers.”

On the 6th of June, a State executive committee of the Democratic party met in Columbia,

1876
June

The
governor
feared
by Dem-
ocrats

and appointed committees to carry their plans into execution. In this movement there was as yet no indication of any hostility toward the governor. It was not expected that he would unite with their party, and all the aid they could expect from him was that of a Republican who believed it to be the primary duty of all governments and all parties to establish justice and fair dealing by honorable methods; who did not hesitate to rebuke and oppose any unjust or illegal action of his political associates. Still there were among the Democratic leaders those who were exasperated that any Republican should obtain credit for ability, and courage, and honor, and they saw in him the one man likely to be able to thwart them in their intention to seize by force the political honors of the State. They feared him as one having power to cope with them in argument and organization, and they did not want the State to be saved from misgovernment except by the Democratic party. They now charged that whatever good he had done was for the purpose of saving his party. Aspiring to seats in Congress, and belonging to the select circle of the aristocracy of the State, they were impatient to resume their sway.

Republi-
can State
con-
vention

In April, before the adjournment of the Legislature, a Republican State Convention was held in Columbia to choose representatives for the National Convention, to be held in Cincinnati the following June. Governor Chamberlain knew that the fate of reform in South Carolina, so far as it depended upon the Republican party, was involved

in his ability to maintain his leadership. He wished an indorsement of his policy from his party, and that would best be given by his election as delegate to the convention. It was now determined by the opposing Republican faction to take the occasion to read him out of the party by his defeat. He had many enemies, not only in the State, but at Washington, even among the radical Republicans, and when the convention met, he seemed to have no chance whatever. The convention was a scene of confusion, so much so that many of the delegates having a regard for their personal safety left the hall. The result, however, was a victory for Chamberlain, who was sent as the head of the delegation to Cincinnati, and dictated the instructions imposed upon all. He was a member of the Committee on Resolutions, and to him was assigned the duty of drawing up the resolution defining the policy of the party regarding affairs in the Southern States.

1876

Chamber-
lain wins
over his
enemies

In the summer of 1876, an alarming strike of agricultural laborers took place in Colleton County, the negroes on several of the plantations quitting their work and organizing to force the hands on other plantations to join them in a demand for higher wages. A bloody conflict was anticipated. Governor Chamberlain at once sent a dispatch to the sheriff of the county, instructing him to say to the negroes that they had a right to refuse to work for low wages, but they had no right to make others join them against their will; that if they molested those who were willing to

Colored
strike in
Colleton
County

1876

Another
strike in
Beaufort
County

work, they violated the law, and would be arrested and punished. This warning was effectual; but a little later more serious trouble broke out among the laborers on a rice plantation in Beaufort County, when the men struck for an advance of fifty per cent. in wages at a time when the immediate gathering of the crop was necessary in order to secure it all. Several hundred negroes gathered, armed with clubs and other weapons, and forced the hands in all adjacent plantations to join them. The sheriff, who attempted to make arrests, was overpowered and could do nothing. The whites began arming for safety, but the negroes finally dispersed and the strike was at an end.

The
Hamburg
massacre

On the 8th of July, 1876, occurred what is known as the Hamburg massacre. It was the first demonstration of the revival of the spirit of violent persecution of the colored race, which had characterized the period of the Kuklux outrages. It was impossible for Governor Chamberlain to pass over this occurrence with forbearance. He appointed a committee of investigation, and after its report wrote a letter to United States Senator Robertson, at Washington, which was at once made public. In it, after describing, in detail, the massacre, he said:

“If you can find words to characterize its atrocity and barbarism, the triviality of the causes, and the murderous and inhuman spirit which marked it in all its stages, your power of language exceeds mine. It presents a darker feature of human cruelty than the slaughter of Custer and his soldiers as they were shot in open battle. The victims at Hamburg

were murdered in cold blood after they had surrendered and were utterly defenseless. No occasion existed for causing the presence of a single armed citizen at Hamburg the day of the massacre. The evidence shows all the actual physical aggression was on the part of the whites; that they made a demand which they had no right to make, and when this demand was refused, as it should have been, they proceeded to enforce it by arms and crowned their successes in enforcing their demands by brutal slaughters. Shame and disgust must fill the breast of every man who respects his race or human nature as he reads the tale. Nothing short of condign and ample punishment can discharge the obligation of society and our State towards the authors of this causeless and cruel massacre."

1876

The gov-
ernor's
manly
condem-
nation of
the mas-
sacre

During the summer of 1876, Governor Chamberlain made a tour of the State, speaking nearly every day to large meetings. The difficulty of the canvass was greatly increased by the course of what was called the "straight-out faction" of the Democrats. Organized in military fashion, uniformed, armed, and officered, they forced themselves into Republican meetings and demanded a division of time. To refuse it was to run the risk of breaking up the meeting and murderous attacks upon the negro Republicans who had gathered together. Many times while the governor was speaking from the platform he was surrounded by a crowd of armed enemies who only waited for an excuse for attack. All that the governor had done for the State seemed to have been forgotten. The very men who had praised him and had promised their support in carrying out the reforms he had begun, now turned against him. At Edgefield Court-House, where a meeting of the Republicans had

Canvass-
ing the
State

Riotous
demon-
strations

1876

been called, the Democratic leaders took possession of the stand while their officers, heavily armed, threatened the speakers. The whole meeting was an exhibition of force and threats designed to intimidate the colored voters and their leaders. At nearly all the large places in the State the same scene was repeated.

Ill treat-
ment of
black
men

Charge of
election
frauds

At the town of Allerton a riot was brought on in which forty or fifty colored men were killed for no reason but simple bloodthirstiness. They were shot down wherever found, in fields and woods, on highways and in cabins, along the railroad track and at the railroad station. The whole campaign was a series of conflicts and disturbances. When election came on, frauds were so apparent in the returns from Edgefield and Lawrence Counties that they were thrown out by the State Board of Canvassers. The court, which had been organized in favor of the Democratic party, was beside itself with wrath and mortification, and consigned the members of the board to prison on the charge of contempt of court. It was claimed that Wade Hampton had been elected, and but for the presence of the United States troops, a riot would undoubtedly have occurred. President Grant, through the Secretary of War, telegraphed to General Ruger, who was in command at Columbia, as follows:

“D. H. Chamberlain is now governor of the State of South Carolina beyond any controversy whatever, and remains so until a new governor shall be duly and legally inaugurated under the constitution. The government has been

called upon to aid with the military and naval force of the United States, and maintain Republican government in the State against resistance too formidable to be overcome by the State authorities. You are directed, therefore, to sustain Governor Chamberlain in his authority against domestic violence, until otherwise directed."

1876

Grant's
instruc-
tions to
Ruger

The Democrats in Columbia, however, believed that they could so manage without personal violence as to obtain possession of all departments of the State government. They believed that enough Republicans would be absent at the meeting of the Legislature to give them a majority, and that through this majority the Democrats from Edgefield and Lawrence would be admitted at once. A Democratic Speaker would be elected, and the Legislature would declare the election of Hampton, who would be inaugurated immediately afterwards. The Legislature was to meet November 28. On the day previous it was found that a large number of the roughs from various counties of the State would take possession of the corridors of the State House, and prevent the Republican members from entering until the Democrats had effected an organization. General Ruger at once took action, and on the night of the 27th a body of United States troops took charge of the Capitol. Both Houses met at noon. The Democratic members marched in procession, with General Hampton and the chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee bringing up the rear. The persons claiming to have been elected from Edgefield and Lawrence Counties were refused admission. The

Hopes
of Dem-
ocrats

Fail of
realiza-
tion

1876

Democratic members then withdrew to another hall and organized, and issued a protest against the action of the Legislature.

Conflict
in the
Legis-
lature

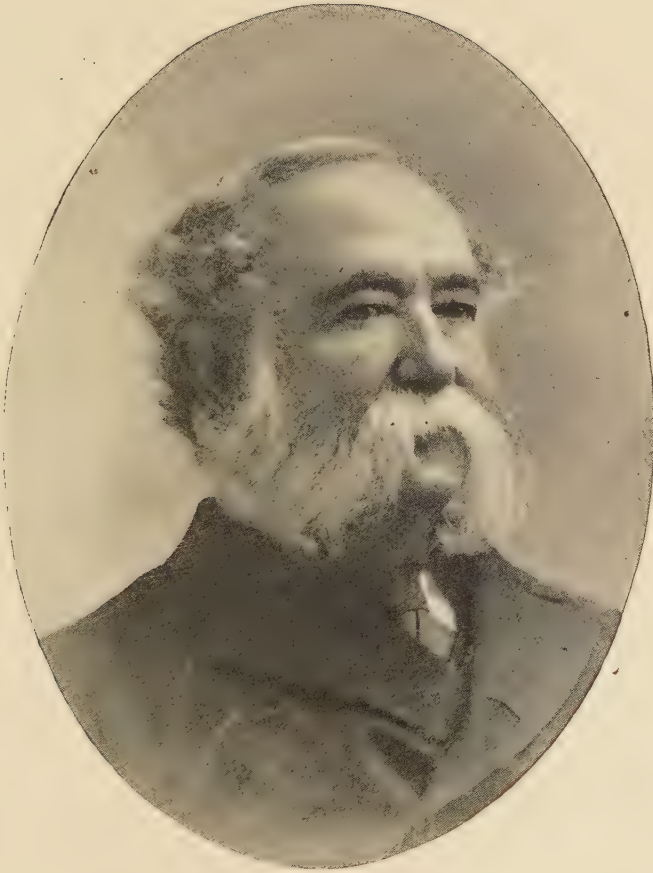
On the 30th of November, the body constituting the Democratic House of Representatives marched to the Capitol building, and forced an entrance to the hall of the Republican House while the Legislature was in session. Its Speaker attempted to take the chair. General Ruger notified the Speaker that the Democratic members from Edgefield would not be permitted on the floor of the House. Another protest followed, but no violent action was taken. The vote for governor was canvassed without disturbance in joint convention December 5. The vote of Edgefield and Lawrence Counties was not counted, although the Legislature had the evidence of gross frauds in two or three other counties considered and reported upon by the proper committee, giving seats to Republicans claiming to be chosen, in place of Democrats to whom certificates had been given on the report of the State canvassers. Governor Chamberlain received 86,216 votes and Hampton 83,071.

Cham-
berlain
declared
elected

Hampton
demands
govern-
or's office

The pseudo House of Representatives went through a form of canvassing returns, and declared Wade Hampton duly elected governor, and proceeded to carry out a form of inauguration. On that same day, General Hampton sent the following message to Governor Chamberlain:

“SIR:—As governor of South Carolina, chosen by the people thereof, I have qualified in accordance with the constitution, and I hereby call upon you as my predecessor in



WADE HAMPTON.

the office to deliver up to me the great seal of the State, together with the possession of the State House, the duty, letters, and all the other matters pertaining to said office.

1876-7

“WADE HAMPTON, *Governor.*”

This called out the following answer from Governor Chamberlain:

“SIR:—I have received a communication in which you call upon me to deliver up to you the great seal of the State, etc., etc. I do not recognize in you any right to make the foregoing demand, and I hereby refuse compliance therewith.

Chamber-
lain's
reply

“D. H. CHAMBERLAIN, *Governor of South Carolina.*”

In the mean time, committees from both Houses of Congress had been sent to South Carolina to investigate the circumstances of the election. An attempt was made at a compromise. Governor Chamberlain was asked if he would be willing to give way to Hampton if he could have the United States Senatorship. In answer he said: “I want it distinctly understood that I will accept no office or place, great or small, as the result of yielding my position. I shall be governor or nothing.” The tension continued up to the time of the decision of the electoral college in favor of Hayes' election. Hampton and his party had depended upon the election of Tilden, in which case he counted upon immediate recognition as governor and the withdrawal of troops from the States.

Congres-
sional
investi-
gation

Compro-
mise
rejected

When President Hayes entered upon the duties of his office, he felt himself peculiarly embarrassed by the condition of things in South Carolina. He recognized the fact, as Grant had done, that

1877
March

Hayes
wishes
to bring
about
peace

Chamberlain was probably elected and, if so, was the legal governor of the State. He felt, however, that so long as he was in office the personal enmity of the Democratic leaders would render a return to peaceful conditions almost impossible. He caused a letter to be sent to Governor Chamberlain in which the writer said:

His
letter to
Cham-
berlain

"It has occurred to me to suggest whether by your own concurrence and coöperation an arrangement could not be arrived at which would obviate the necessity for the use of Federal arms to support either government, and leave that to stand which is able to stand of itself. Such a course would relieve the administration from the necessity, so far as executive action is concerned, of making any decision between the conflicting governments, and would place you in the position of making a sacrifice of what you deem your abstract rights for the sake of the peace of the community, which would entitle you to the gratitude, not only of your own party, but the respect and esteem of the entire country."

In Governor Chamberlain's answer, he said:

The gov-
ernor's
reply

"I desire to aid and relieve President Hayes, but this is a life-or-death struggle, and I know that I should consign myself to infamy in the eyes of all Republicans here who know the situation by fearful experience if I were to accept any terms to do any act which could result in the success of the monstrous conspiracy against law and humanity which the Democracy of this State embody and represent. There are better ways than this to conciliate and pacify the South. Let the present administration, while formally standing by the law and right for Republicans, manifest a spirit of charity and sympathy for our opponents here as countrymen and citizens in the thousand ways open to an administration, and peace will come, and will abide—the peace of justice and law, the only peace worth fighting for. To permit Hampton

to reap the fruits of a campaign of murder and fraud, so long as there remains power to prevent it, is to sanction such methods."

1877
March

The situation was one that admitted of great variety of opinion, and was warmly discussed, not only among those who were directly concerned, but in the entire press of the country. On March 23, Governor Chamberlain received a letter from the private secretary of the President in which he said:

The case
one of
general
interest

"I am instructed by the President to bring to your attention his purpose to take into immediate consideration the position of affairs in South Carolina, with a view of determining the course which, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, it may be his duty to take in reference to the situation in that State, as he finds it upon succeeding to the Presidency. It would give the President great pleasure to confer with you in person. If reasons of weight should discourage this course, the President will be glad to receive any communication from you in writing, or through any delegate possessing your confidence, that will convey to him your views of the impediments to the peaceful and orderly organization of the single and undisputed State government in South Carolina, and of the best methods of removing them. It is the earnest desire of the President to be able to put an end as speedily as possible to all appearance of intervention of the military authority of the United States in the political derangements which affect the government and afflict the people of South Carolina. In this desire the President cannot doubt he truly represents the patriotic feeling of the great body of the people of the United States. It is impossible that the protracted disorder in the domestic government of any State can or should ever fail to be a matter of lively interest and solicitude to the people of the whole country. By direction of the President, I have addressed to the Hon. Wade Hampton a duplicate of this letter."

The Pres-
ident's
letter to
Chamber-
lain and
Hampton

1877
March-
April

Congress
approves
with-
drawal
of troops

On the 28th of March, Chamberlain and Hampton both arrived at Washington and held a consultation with the President. At a meeting of the Cabinet on the 2d of April, it was unanimously decided that the Federal government had no constitutional right to intrude the army into the official headquarters of the State government, except to suppress domestic disturbance when the government of the State was powerless to protect itself. This exception, in the opinion of the Cabinet, did not apply to South Carolina, and the determination of the President to withdraw the troops from the State House was unanimously approved. Before the actual removal of troops, it was decided that it should not take place until after the return of Hampton and Chamberlain to South Carolina. Governor Hampton pledged himself, in a communication to the President, not only that no violence should be used toward Governor Chamberlain and the other State officers, but that the constitutional rights of all classes of citizens should be respected and no violence done to any.

Governor
Chamber-
lain
resigns

Governor Chamberlain at once resigned from office, and published an address in which he said: "By the recent decision and action of the President of the United States, I find myself unable to longer maintain my official rights, and I hereby announce to you that I am unwilling to prolong a struggle which can only bring further suffering upon those who engage in it."

The action of President Hayes, although it led to a return of order, was bitterly criticised

by many of the Republican leaders. It was asserted that in order to relieve the administration from embarrassments, he had deliberately handed over the control of the government in the two States of South Carolina and Louisiana to the party which had no claim to it, and which had conducted the campaign by means of intimidation, fraud, and murder. When President Hayes was declared elected, the State government of Louisiana was complete in all its departments, with Governor Packard duly elected as its chief executive. By the same election and the same agencies which resulted in securing the electoral vote of Louisiana for President Hayes, a Legislature had been chosen composed of a large majority in both branches of Republicans. It had assembled with a lawful quorum in each branch, and had proceeded, in conformity with the constitution and laws of the State, to declare Governor Packard the lawfully elected governor. This body was, however, menaced by an armed and revolutionary organization also claiming to be a State government, which had forcibly seized a considerable part of the public offices and property and stood in readiness to complete its usurpation whenever this could be done without actual collision with the military forces of the United States.

This condition of things was in due constitutional form laid before the President by the legal Legislature of the State, then in session, with the demand for protection against violence. In Louisiana as in South Carolina, it was apparently the

1877
April

Charge
against
Hayes

Conflict
of author-
ity in
Louis-
iana

Legis-
lature
asks pro
tection

1877
April

Commis-
sion sent
to New
Orleans

Report
and facts
do not
agree

Legal
State
govern-
ment
upset

administration's desire to secure peace at any price. Instead of upholding the recently elected government, President Hayes sent a commission of five to New Orleans, instructed to "make no examination into or report upon the facts of the recent State election or the canvass of the votes cast at that election," but to learn the real impediments to regular, legal, and peaceful proceedings under the laws and constitution of Louisiana, and that their first and principal attention should be directed to the removal of the obstacles and an acknowledgment of one government. The commission reported, after investigation, that a state of domestic violence sufficient to demand the presence of the United States troops did not exist. The facts were that a portion of the State of Louisiana was in a state of armed insurrection. Military organizations under arms had attacked the government represented by Governor Packard, and wrested from it by actual force most of the public offices and buildings at New Orleans, and had been stayed from attacking the one building occupied by the legal government only by the actual presence of the military forces of the United States. The withdrawal of the troops, on April 20, threw the State government into the hands of the leaders of the home rule party, and led to a decided change in the situation.

These events and incidents, which are set forth in full in the government records, have passed into history as President Hayes' "Southern policy." It is useless to deny that it brought about a better

state of things, but many of the Northern people regarded it as a peace without honor.

1877

"It is quite too much the custom," said Governor Chamberlain after his resignation, "in speaking of what are called the 'carpet-bag' governments of the South, to present only one side of the picture. I freely admit that there is one side which is to a large degree discreditable to the State governments of South Carolina for some part of the time since 1867. And I have during my own administration considered it my duty, for the best interests of the State, of the Republican party, and especially of both races of people living on this soil, without regard to party, to oppose and discountenance many of the practices that have grown up under our State government since reconstruction. In consequence of being engaged somewhat conspicuously in this work of correcting Republican abuses, it has been very erroneously supposed that I was a wholesale denouncer of the government which has existed here since reconstruction.

Chamber-
lain rec-
ognizes
existing
evils

"The fact is that I have never lost sight of the benefits the new order of things has conferred upon this State. And I say now, very deliberately, that in my judgment the so-called 'carpet-bag' governments of South Carolina have done more for the permanent prosperity and progress of South Carolina than any other agency which has ever existed in this State.

Credit
given to
'carpet-
bag' gov-
ernments

"Now, I am willing to catalogue all the abuses against good government which have existed here under Republican rule since the war. I admit that

1877

Notwith-
standing
certain
abuses

Many
reforms
had been
effected

the State debt has been needlessly increased, and large sums of money raised by taxation have been expended in unnecessary amounts upon unnecessary objects, and that many ruthless, incompetent, and dishonest persons have crept into public office; although, as a strict matter of justice, I think I ought to say here that quite as many of such persons have been natives as otherwise. Yet when this tale is told, I still say there are certain indisputable facts which ought always to be stated as the other side of this picture and essential to a just and accurate judgment of what has taken place in this State since the war. I refer now to such remarkable facts as these—that under Republican rule, that system of representation in South Carolina which threw the whole political power of the State into the hands of comparatively few persons, numerically speaking; which gave political power and influence to one class of citizens and placed the burden of supporting the government almost exclusively upon another class, has been completely revolutionized, and we have now a just system of representation, giving just influence and power to every class of the community and to each individual, and laying the burdens of taxation and the support of the government equally and justly upon all classes of the people and upon all descriptions of property. We have this to show for Republican rule in South Carolina: A free and just constitution under which, so far as the organic law can effect it, the rights of all the people of South Carolina are secured; a just distribution

of the political power of the State between both the races and among all the people; a system of taxation which is, in my judgment, as correct as has been devised in any State in the Union; a system of local affairs and local administration which is simple, convenient, and as unexceptionable as can be devised; a system of public education which embraces and extends to all the people of the State alike; and now, after the first eight years' experience under that constitution, a habit of self-government, and an exercise of political power on the part of all the people of the State, which would never have dawned upon the State except under Republican rule, and under what, as I have said, is so universally called the 'carpet-bag' administrations."

1877

Things
accom-
plished
under
Republi-
can rule

The conditions in Florida were as bad during this period as in Alabama or in South Carolina. For three or four years the State was the stamping-ground of unprincipled politicians of both parties, each side trying to swing the negro votes in its direction. The wanton waste of public moneys and general extravagance of the Legislature of the State rivaled that of South Carolina. When the convention was held in 1868, to vote on the constitution, the leaders, without legislative sanction, voted to issue scrip to the amount of \$50,000; of this, \$15,000 was issued at once for printing expenses, the chairman of the committee retaining \$10,000 of it, the remainder being more than double the amount actually required. The pay of the pages and messengers was fixed at \$10

In
Florida

A field
for
political
rivalry

1868

Instances of
'graft'

a day, and that of clerks and other officers at \$15 and \$20 a day. One delegate who lived 300 miles away was allowed \$690 for his traveling expenses; other delegates living from twenty to fifty miles from the place of the convention were allowed from \$500 to \$600 for the same purpose. In the report of expenditures, thousands of dollars were credited to members which were never paid them, but were retained by the leaders.

Secret
political
societies

Before the convention, an alien politician named T. W. Osborn had been appointed commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau for Florida, with headquarters at the capital. Here he founded a secret political society called "The Lincoln Brotherhood;" he managed to make himself the grand head-center of all the branches subsequently established in the State. His eye was fixed upon the governorship, but there were others, aliens like himself, who cherished the same ambition. Among them was an ex-military officer named Liberty Billings, a citizen of the State of New Hampshire. To offset the influence of Osborn among the negroes, Billings, with two associates, W. M. Saunders, a colored native of Maryland, and Daniel Richards, from Illinois, started a rival secret organization which they called "The Loyal League" of America.

Factions
in Repub-
lican
party

The Republican party of the State was now split into two factions. In the campaign for governor, Billings represented one, while the other nominated Harrison H. Reed, and elected him by a majority of over 5000 votes. The defeated party

at once prepared a memorial to Congress declaring the election unconstitutional and asked for its annulment. Unsuccessful in this, measures were later taken for the impeachment of the new governor, who, a stranger to the people, had taken into his Cabinet men who were notoriously corrupt and who made honest government impossible. The governor attempted to stem the tide of extravagance and crime by vetoing such bills as bore their character on their face, but they were sometimes passed over his veto, and sometimes modified and so disguised as to escape his watchfulness. The impeachment movement was a failure and Reed served out his term, being succeeded by Governor Hart, whose administration lasted for fifteen months. It is useless to recount the history of the State in full during this period. Suffice to say that, in the main, it reads from first to last like that of its two sister States, Alabama and South Carolina.

In Louisiana the condition of things was equally chaotic. It will be remembered that the first voluntary movement toward reconstruction was made in this State, and that as early as January 8, 1864, a Free State Convention was held at New Orleans which accepted the emancipation policy of the President, and that a governor, Michael Hahn, was duly elected as the representative of the Union sentiment in the State. The first governor elected after the readmission of the State was Henry C. Warmouth, a brilliant but unprincipled politician from Illinois, who held the

1868

Corruption
during
Governor
Reed's
term

A dis-
credit-
able
record

Louisiana leads
in recon-
struction

1873

position for four years. During that time the annual expenditure of the State government was \$6,000,000. Before that, \$600,000 had been ample for all legitimate expenses. In 1868, the State debt was a little over \$6,000,000, with enough assets for its extinguishment. In 1872, the State debt was nearly \$50,000,000, and the assets had all disappeared.

Two
State
govern-
ments
erected
in Lou-
isiana

At the elections in 1873, two governors, William P. Kellogg and John McEnery, were elected, and also separate Legislatures. These two State governments were arrayed against each other, and serious trouble seemed likely to occur. The matter was finally referred to the President, who decided in favor of Governor Kellogg, who took his seat. On the 14th of September the Lieutenant Governor of the defeated party, with a number of his adherents, took possession of the State House, but disbanded at the order of the President, backed by armed authority.

What
recon-
struction
accom-
plished

As has been seen, the path to reconstruction was sown with mistakes, blunders, and failures, but there were many important successes, which may be summarized as follows: Reconstruction gave the negroes a civil status that a century of restoration would not have accomplished, for, setting aside the right to vote, it secured other undisputed rights of the blacks; by organizing the blacks it made them independent of white control; it gave the negro an independent church and a right to education, and gave to both races the public school system; it made the negro economically

LOCAL OR INITIATION.

ОАТН.

Cr.—What does he wish? Ans.—He wishes to see the Cr. Cr.—Who comes there? Ans.—Cr. A son of your race. Cr.—What does he wish? Ans.—He wishes to see the Cr. Cr.—Who comes there? Ans.—Cr. A son of your race. Cr.—What does he wish? Ans.—He wishes to see the Cr. Cr.—Who comes there? Ans.—Cr. A son of your race.

race must triumph. **Ans.**—Cr. The cause of

C.—And, to secure its triumph what must we do? Ans.—Cr. We shall be united as are the flowers that grow on the same stem, and, under circumstances, band ourselves together as brethren.

C.—Will be join us? Ans.—Cr. He is prepared to answer for him, and under oath. L. C.—Let him enter.

Cr. shall then answer.

him into the presence of the C, who shall propound the following question, to which shall be answered in a manner satisfactory to the Council. [Should the candidate fail to answer any of these questions satisfactorily, no further questions will be put to him, and he shall immediately be made to retire blindfolded and dismissed by the C.]

It previous to propounding the questions the C. shall address the candidates as follows:

—MY friends, it becomes my duty to propound to you certain questions which you are expected to answer truthfully—and your admission in the Order will depend on your replies.

(When several candidates are nominated together, the C. will take care to use the plural number wherever necessary. The answers shall be prompted by the C.)

1. Do you belong to the ...

2. Did you ever marry any woman who did not belong to the white race? Ans.—I do not.

to the white race? Ans.—No.

3. Do you promise never to marry any woman but one who belongs to the white race? Ans—I do.

5. Will you promise never to vote for any one for any office of the State?

6. Will you take a solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and to defend it against all enemies, foreign and domestic? Answer—Yes, I do.

vote at any election in which a candidate of the same party is running.

posed to a white man attached to your principles, unless proved by

7. Are you opposed to allowing the Federal Government to fund research on the treatment of any other physical disability? Ans—I will.

... the control of the political affairs of

PAGE FROM THE CONSTITUTION

Courtesy of Walter L. Fleming.

being passed on to the E.C. of each central council, as soon as possible after having received it from the S. C.

ART. 33: There shall be, in each county or parish, a central council, which shall be formed therein as soon as two or more subordinate councils shall have been established.

ART. 34. This council shall be composed of the

Art. 35. The central council shall have the right to exist in the county or parish.

Sent of justice of the county or parish
Apr 28 The court

in the county or parish shall be the head of the Order in the county or parish in which it is formed. It shall have the power to give charters for the formation of new councils within its own county or parish, and also in other counties or parishes where no council is organized. It shall be the highest court of examination of all matters of dispute between the subordinate councils and their C's, and it shall determine without delay all appeals made by a member from the decisions of a subordinate council.

They shall have the power to collect, from all subordinate councils within its jurisdiction, ten per cent, of all moneys collected by them, and shall preserve and expend the same for the good of the Order.

ART. 38. A member of the first council established in any county or parish shall have all the powers of the central council, until two councils shall have been formed therein, when they shall proceed to establish a central council agreeably with the provisions of articles 33 and 34 of this constitution; but it shall not be entitled to send delegates to the Grand Council.

from that body for a sufficient cause, in accordance with the provisions of Article VII of this constitution, and such expulsion shall have the effect of removing the expelled member from the office by which he was designated, and to vacate the office which he shall hold in said council.

Art. 39. The central council shall hold

in such days as they may deem proper.

L. C., may, in cases of emergency, convene the central council, giving due notice of such convocation to the subordinate councils.

ART. 40. The officers of the central council shall be:

ORDER OF WHITE CAMELIA.

free, and showed that free labor was better than slave labor; it destroyed the former leaders of the whites, and put the negroes in the way of citizenship, and secured peace and order. On the other hand, it placed the destinies of the South in the hands of an inferior race, whose members were led to believe that political supremacy was their right by reason of their long servitude; that citizenship was not necessarily the reward of industrial efficiency and political honesty. In a word, to use the language of a Southern writer, "The political hell through which the whites passed was necessary discipline which secured the greatest good to the greatest number."

1868-75

Desirable ends brought about

It was during this period from 1868-1875 that the secret political organizations of the two conflicting parties came into existence, flourished, and died out. The first of these, the so-called "Loyal League," was established by the white radicals, and was intended to strengthen loyal sentiment, bind party ties more firmly, and furnish mutual protection. These leagues preceded the Kuklux and its associate orders by nearly two years. They brought together the white Unionists, Republicans, officers of the Freedmen's Bureau, with a strong intermingling of adventurers from other States. Many of these were earnest and loyal men who believed that through the agency of the organization much good would be accomplished. Later, the doors were opened to negro membership, and the native white members left in crowds. The few white members left served as leaders, but they

The era of secret societies

Not an unmixed good

1868-75

were for the most part men of questionable character who controlled the organization for their own personal, political, or financial purposes.

Whites
and
blacks
arrayed
against
each
other

An incen-
diary
order

The blacks were drilled into the belief that their interests and those of the Southern white men could not be the same, and their passions and prejudices were played upon in order to solidify the negro race against the white, and thereby prevent political control by the latter. The members of the leagues made it a practice to attend their meetings armed, and guards with loaded rifles encircled their meeting-places. In 1866, the order at Tuscumbia, Alabama, was commanded by the head of the organization at Memphis to burn the town as a beginning of war with the whites. An attempt was made to carry out the order, but the committee chosen disagreed after starting out with the oil and matches. They did not dare to set fire to dwellings, and finally compromised by burning the Female Academy. Three of the leaders were caught and shot.

Colored
leagues
in
Alabama

In Alabama the colored leagues were especially predominant. In many places the members were drilled at night, and at the close of the meetings armed squads would halt in front of the houses of those they disliked, firing guns and treating the inmates to all sorts of verbal abuse. As a whole, however, very little violence was done to the whites. Drunk with their new-born freedom, it was perhaps natural that the feelings of the negroes should have some vent, and it rarely went beyond a display of impudence. In most instances where

outrages occurred it was at the instigation of the white leaders.

1868-76

Negroes who were inclined to stay by their old masters, or who ventured to vote the Democratic ticket, were boycotted, fined, or flogged. Some of the methods of the leagues were similar to those of the later Kuklux Klan. Anonymous warnings were sent to obnoxious individuals, buildings were burned, and warnings were posted on the doors of whites and blacks alike who had incurred the hostility of the order. When a black man had shown a disposition to hold friendly relations with a Democratic white man, he was served with what was known as an “exodus order”; that is, an official command to leave home and seek another place of residence. This was an order no negro dared defy.

Freed-
men
intimi-
dated

In Bullock County, Alabama, near the town of Perote, a council of the league was organized by negroes, and a government of the town was proclaimed. A court was formed and numbers of Democratic negroes were arrested and brought before it for trial. But the black sheriff and his deputy were arrested by the civil authorities. The negroes with reinforcements flocked into Union Springs, the county-seat, and threatened to exterminate the whites and take possession of the county. They sent men to the near plantations, and forced the laborers to join them by threatening to kill all who refused. General Swayne, who was in command in the county, sent a detachment of United States troops, who arrested the ringleaders and the affair collapsed.

Riotous
proceed-
ings by
one
league

1866-76 The league was unquestionably one of the most powerful causes of the Kuklux movement, for the reason that it helped create the conditions which made that movement inevitable. The Kuklux movement was one of the natural results of the chaotic condition of social and political institutions in the South from the close of the war to 1876. It was not confined to a single organization, but it took many forms and was called by many names. Its purpose, however, was always the same: to recover for the white race the control of society and political power. For several months before the close of the war, the State government was powerless except in the vicinity of the larger towns, large sections of the country being practically without government. All over the South the land was infested by a vicious element left by the war, made up of deserters from both the Federal and Confederate armies, with bushwhackers and outlaws of every description. Then, too, the worst class of the negroes were violent in their new-found freedom. There was much talk among them of confiscation of property and division of the land among the blacks. Murders were frequent, and for years it was almost impossible for the farmer or planter to raise cattle, hogs, or poultry on account of the thieving propensities of the negroes, who believed that their freedom gave them the right to take what came within their reach, and who were not slow to act upon their belief. Houses, mills, cotton-fields, and corn-cribs were frequently burned.

Purpose
of the
Kuklux
Klan

Chaotic
con-
ditions

On account of this disturbed condition of affairs, some kind of a police power was necessary, the Federal garrisons not being sufficient. Before the war what was called a police patrol had existed. This patrol had consisted of men usually selected by the justice of the peace to patrol the entire community once a week, or once a month, as the case might be, usually at night. The need for this patrol was to keep the black population in order as well as the lower class of whites. It was to some extent a military organization. A return to this ante-bellum custom took place in many parts of the country, but under the régime of the Freedmen's Bureau, backed by the army, this custom became illegal and impossible.

1866-76

Night
patrols
revived

The result was natural; the movement to regulate society became of necessity a secret one. The white men of each community had a general understanding that they would assist one another to protect women, and children, and property. There were no disguises, but there was a public place of meeting. In central and southern Alabama the citizens resolved themselves into vigilance committees, and hung horse-thieves and other outlaws who were raiding the country, some of them disguised in the uniforms of Federal soldiers. In some places where negro insurrection was feared, militia companies were formed among the white citizens, although this was forbidden by the law of the State.

Vigil-
ance com-
mittees

The Kuklux Klan originated in Pulaski, Tennessee, in the autumn of 1865. At first it consisted

1866-76

Origin of
the
Kuklux
Klan

of a club of young men who had served in the Confederate army, who united for the purpose of fun and mischief, pretty much as college boys do in secret fraternities. The name was a corruption of the Greek word "kuklas," meaning circular. Fantastic disguises were adopted, the regalia consisting of a tall cardboard hat covered with black cloth, with a mask, and a long robe made of any kind of cloth or color reaching to the heels. These companies paraded in full uniform at the social gatherings of the whites. It had not long been in existence when a discovery of its power over the negro was made. The night processions of the order in ghostly disguises frightened the superstitious negroes, who were told that they were the spirits of dead Confederates. With this discovery, a total change took place in the spirit of the order, the purpose of which now became serious. In the mean time, other of these organizations had been formed which swiftly became bands of regulators who took into their hands the business of a police patrol and the holding in check the negro secret societies, thieves, and obnoxious persons generally, without regard to color.

Change
in its
purposeReorgan-
ization of
the order

Early in 1867, the Pulaski organization sent requests to the various branches of the Southern States to send delegates to a convention in Nashville. This convention met in May, 1867. Delegates from all the Gulf States and from several others were present, and the order of the Kuklux Klan was reorganized. There were delegates present from all the Southern States and from

Illinois and Pennsylvania. What the order was at this time under responsible heads, may be gathered from the revised and amended prescript adopted, setting forth the character and objects of the order. It reads as follows:

1867

“This is an institution of chivalry, humanity, mercy, and patriotism, embodying in its genius and its principles all that is chivalrous in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose, its peculiar objects being, first, to protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal, to relieve the injured and oppressed, to succor the suffering and unfortunate, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers. Second, to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and of laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the States and the people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever. Third, to aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure and trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land.”

State-
ment of
princi-
ples

The candidate was asked if he was opposed to negro equality, political and social; if he was in favor of the white man's government, of constitutional liberty, and equitable laws. He was asked if he was in favor of reënfranchisement and emancipation of the Southern whites, and the restoration to the Southern people of their rights, property, civil, and political, and of maintaining the constitutional rights of the South, and if he believed in the inalienable right of self-preservation of the people against the exercise of arbitrary and unlicensed power.

White su-
premacy
the
leading
thought

1867-70 The order continued to spread rapidly, and became more and more a band of regulators using mystery, disguises, and secrecy to terrify all blacks into good behavior. It was in many ways a military organization. The best men in the community, generally, were members, but the prominent politicians, as a rule, did not belong to the order. It is the nature of all such societies to degenerate, and the Kuklux Klan was no exception to the rule. By 1869 the order had come largely under control of a class of men who used it to further their own personal aims, to wreak revenge on their enemies, and gratify personal animosity. Outrages were frequent, and the order at last became dangerous even to those who founded it. By 1870 there was a universal collapse. Nearly all its original members abandoned it in disgust. After that, murders and whippings were common, and committed in the name of the Kuklux, though really perpetrated by irresponsible ruffians not belonging to the Klan.

Spread
of the
Kuklux
Klan

Its final
failure

In 1867, another secret order, known as the Knights of the White Camelia, originated in Louisiana and spread from thence through the Gulf States. The former local vigilance committees, neighborhood patrol parties and disbanded militia were absorbed into the order, which gave them a uniform organization. In June, 1868, a convention of the Knights of the White Camelia was held in New Orleans, and a constitution was adopted for the order.

The
White
Camelia

The fundamental object of the organization was the maintenance of the supremacy of the white

race. Its constitution declared that the Caucasian race had always been superior to and had always exercised dominion over inferior races. No human laws, it was argued, could permanently change the great laws of nature. The white race alone had achieved enduring civilization, and of all subordinate races the most imperfect was the African. The government of the republic was established by white men for white men; it was never intended by its founders that it should fall into the hands of an inferior race. Consequently, any attempt to transfer the government to the blacks was an invasion of the sacred rights guaranteed by the Constitution as well as a violation of the laws established by God himself, and no member of the white race could submit, without humiliation and shame, to the subversion of the established institutions of the Republic. It was the duty of the white men to resist attempts against their natural and legal rights in order to maintain the supremacy of the Caucasian race, and restrain the African race to that condition of social and political inferiority for which God had destined it.

It was declared that there was to be no infringement of laws, no violations of right, no force employed except for purposes of legitimate and necessary defense. Social equality between the races was absolutely proscribed on the ground that if any degree of social equality should be granted, there would be no end to it; that it meant finally intermarriage and a degraded and ignoble population. One obligation, therefore, of the order,

1868

Declara-
tions of
the con-
stitution

Govern-
ment
inheres
in the
white
race
alone

No social
equality
admiss-
ible

1868 was to observe and mark distinction between the two races in public and private life. The constitution also declared that one of the most important duties of its members was to respect the rights of the negroes, and in every instance give them their lawful dues; it was only simple justice to deny them none of their legitimate privileges. There was no better way to show the inherent superiority of the white race than by dealing with the blacks in that spirit of firmness, liberality, and impartiality which characterized all superior organizations; it would be ungenerous to restrict them in the exercise of certain privileges without conceding to them at the same time the full measure of their legitimate rights. A fair construction of the white man's duty to the black would be not only to respect and observe their acknowledged rights, but also to see that they were respected and observed by others.

Fair
treat-
ment of
the
freedmen
coun-
seled

The order
a law
and order
league

The purpose of this order, as well as that of the Klan, was to regulate the conduct of the blacks and their leaders in order that people's life and property might be made secure. To accomplish this they planned to play upon the fears, superstitions, and cowardice of the black race by creating a white terror to offset the black one. From regulating negroes and their leaders, the societies undertook a general supervision of the morals of the community. Houses of bad reputation were visited; the inmates, white or black, warned and sometimes whipped. The white man living with a negro woman was whipped, and the negro

man living with a white woman was killed. White men who were too lazy to support their families, or who drank too much whisky, or who were cruel to their families, were disciplined. It often happened that these were men of their own political belief.

1868

In parts of the white counties where there were neither negroes nor carpet-baggers, the Ku-klux found an excuse for its existence in the holding in check of the white outlaws. The opposition of the Klan was sometimes directed against negro churches and school-houses, and a number of these were burned. Various reasons were given for this: one was that the poor whites in the Klan did not approve of negro education, and that negro churches and school-houses were used as meeting-places for the Loyal Leagues, and were the political headquarters of the radical party. Then, again, the bad character of some of the white teachers of negro schools and the incendiary teachings of others formed an excuse. In retaliation, the school and church buildings of the whites were also burned.

Excuses
for the
opera-
tions of
the Klan

The oath taken by the Kuklux demanded supreme allegiance to the order so far as related to the problems before the South. Members of the order sat on juries and refused to convict; were summoned as witnesses and denied all knowledge of the order. The testimonies taken before the committee of investigation at Washington show that the work of the secret orders was successful in keeping the negroes quiet and freeing them to

Faalty to
the
South
required

1869-74

Order
promoted
and
secured

some extent from the influence of alien leaders. Two years after their formation, the burning of houses, mills, and stores ceased, property was more secure, people slept safely at night, women and children were again safe to walk abroad.

Collapse
of the
Kuklux

In March, 1869, the Kuklux Klan was disbanded by order of the Grand Commander. In the mean time, numbers of the organizations had fallen into the hands of lawless men who used the name and disguise for lawless purposes. Horse-thieves in northern and western Alabama, and thieves of every kind and everywhere, began to disguise themselves and to announce themselves as Kuklux. In 1872, a gang of men in eastern Alabama, members of a spurious Kuklux Klan, burned a negro meeting-house where political meetings were held. They were arrested and tried; four of them were fined \$5,000 each and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in the Albany (N. Y.) penitentiary, while three others were fined and imprisoned for five years.

Other
secret
orders

In the elections of that year and 1874, there were numerous arrests, but no convictions are recorded. The formal disbanding of the Klan was followed by that of the "White Camelia." The "White Brotherhood" was a later organization, but had only a limited expansion over Alabama. The most widely spread of the later organizations was the "White League," which, in 1874, was widely represented throughout the State.

CHAPTER CXII.

GRANT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

In dealing with the events of the Civil War, and the period of storm and stress which followed it, it has seemed better, in order to maintain a consecutive narrative, to defer, as far as possible, matters of miscellaneous interest for subsequent treatment. We now turn back to some of the more important events which occurred in the various administrations, from the time of Lincoln to that of Hayes. Johnson's administration, as has been seen, was one of political turbulence,—a period when Congress and President alike lost their dignity and waged disgraceful warfare against each other. In the midst of this partisan strife, however, there were spasmodic attempts at legislation looking to the reform of governmental abuse and the promotion of the general welfare of the country.

The naval needs of the country were brought into strong prominence during the Civil War. It became evident that some available harbor in the Caribbean Sea was indispensable to successful naval operations on the American coast. Of the innumerable West India Islands, not one belonged to the United States; while every European naval power possessed important ports as bases for

1864

A retro-
spect

Demands
of the
navy

1865

Neces-
sity of a
naval
base in
the
Antilles

offensive operations. In 1865, President Lincoln and Secretary Seward consulted with Admiral Porter on the matter. Maps and charts were examined and studied, and it was found that the three Danish islands of the Virgin group of the Antilles were peculiarly adapted to the requirements of this government as a naval station. Admiral Porter was urgent in his desire that they should be purchased, and prepared a monograph in which these possessions were described and their advantages set forth. He said:

Admiral
Porter's
commen-
dation
of St.
Thomas

"St. Thomas lies right in the track of all vessels from Europe, Brazil, the East Indies, and the Pacific Ocean, bound to the West Indian Islands or to the United States. It is the point where all vessels touch for supplies when needed, coming from any of the above stations. It is a central point from which any or all of the West Indian Islands can be assailed, while it is impervious to attack from landing parties, and can be fortified to any extent. The bay on which lies the town of St. Thomas is almost circular, the entrance being by a neck guarded by two heavy forts, which can be so strengthened and protected that no foreign power can ever hope to take it. St. Thomas is a small Gibraltar of itself, and could not be attacked by a naval force. There would be no possibility of landing troops there, as the island is surrounded by reefs and breakers, and every point near which a vessel or boat could approach is a natural fortification, and only requires guns with little labor expended on fortified works. There is no harbor in the West Indies better fitted than St. Thomas for a naval situation. Its harbor and that of St. John, and the harbor formed by the Water Island, would contain all the vessels of the largest navy in the world, where they would be protected at all times from bad weather, and be secure against an enemy. In fine, St. Thomas is the keystone to the arch of the West Indies. It commands them all. It is of more importance to us than to any other nation."

In January, 1866, Secretary Seward undertook a voyage to the West Indies for his health, and also to make personal observations among the islands with a view to future purchase by the government. It resulted in the warm endorsement of Admiral Porter's views, and his report was at once acquiesced in by the President and his Cabinet.

1866-7

Seward's
trip to
the West
Indies

A formal proposition was at once made to Denmark for the purchase of the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz, the government offering therefor the sum of \$5,000,000. Just at that time political affairs in Denmark were in a peculiarly unsettled state, and no definite answer could at once be obtained. After waiting a year, the government, becoming impatient, communicated with the American minister at Copenhagen, asking him to press for an immediate reply. After some delay, the Danish government declined the proposition, but offered to cede the three islands for the sum of \$15,000,000, the transfer of Santa Cruz to depend on the consent of France, in accordance with a treaty stipulation of two hundred years' standing; the two of the islands for \$10,000,000, providing the inhabitants would freely and formally consent by vote to a change of allegiance. This proposition was met with a counter offer from the United States of \$7,500,000 for the three islands. This offer was again declined by Denmark, and again amended by the United States to an offer of the same sum for the islands of St. Thomas and St. John, leaving Santa Cruz,

Offer for
the
Danish
islandsDemands
of
Denmark

1867

which was not specially desirable, out of the question.

Terms
of sale
agreed
upon

This proposition was accepted, with the proviso that the consent by vote of the inhabitants should be a *sine qua non* of the transaction. To this the United States consented, adhering to the offer of \$7,500,000 for the two islands. On the 24th of October, 1867, the King of Denmark consented to a treaty for the sale of the two islands to the United States. When Congress convened in December, this treaty was sent to the Senate for discussion, investigation, and consideration, specially recommended and explained in the annual Presidential message, and was duly referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Views of
the
English
in the
matter

In the mean time, Denmark was seriously embarrassed by the promise given to the British government at the beginning of the negotiation that no disposition of the islands should be made without due notice being given. The London *Times* declared that "the object of the United States has been to acquire war ports against European enemies, and in St. Thomas and St. John they have certainly succeeded in gaining what they desired. This move on the part of the Americans has unquestionably altered all the relations between the countries in the event of war, and is of fifty times more importance to England than all the manœuvres which have taken place about Turkey during the last hundred years. What Port Royal was once, St. Thomas will soon become in the hands of our competitors across

the Atlantic." When the treaty was signed and its provisions were understood throughout the country, no dissatisfaction was expressed by the press or from any important quarter, and in Europe it was regarded as an accomplished fact, but all at once opposition began to manifest itself, and a series of disastrous incidents occurred.

1867

The
treaty
signed

The island of St. Thomas, by reason of its peculiar position, was, in 1867, a distributing centre and a market of considerable consequence. The question of annexation, therefore, was to the inhabitants a matter of singular importance. The question of revenue tariff was a serious stumbling-block. The merchants desired the assurance that in the event of a transfer to the United States the port of St. Thomas should remain free for a stipulated length of time. The vote by the people could not be taken until this point was settled. Rear-Admiral Palmer, in command of the North Atlantic Squadron, was at St. Thomas under orders to hoist the United States flag and take possession of the islands in the event of a transfer, and dispatched the fastest vessel of the fleet to convey the Danish commissioner to Washington to lay this important question of the tariff before the government.

Tariff
demands
consider-
ation

On the day before the sailing, November 18, a violent earthquake shock was felt in St. Thomas, which expended its force in a tidal wave, doing a large amount of damage. When Washington was reached, it was in the very midst of the passionate political combat between the legislative

Earth-
quake in
St.
Thomas

1867-8

Change of
senti-
ment re-
garding
purchase

and executive branches of the government. Everything of public importance had been forgotten or set aside while the strife was in progress. Congress received the commissioner coldly, but gave no sign as to when the treaty could be considered. For years there had been an intense national yearning exhibited for a foothold in the West Indies; irritation and heartburning had been displayed because foreign powers held there the key to the Gulf of Mexico and the mouth of the Mississippi and to the isthmus transit, while the United States had not an inch of land even for a coaling station. Now, when by peaceful diplomacy the acquisition of what was so much desired could be gained without a drop of bloodshed, there was nothing but indifferent depreciation or ridicule. The opposition press was filled with squibs at Secretary Seward's purchase of icebergs, earthquakes, and tidal waves.

Islands
vote in
favor of
annexa-
tion to
the
United
States

After weeks of waiting, the Danish commissioner returned to St. Thomas determined to enforce the vote, although bearing word to the merchants that their request to obtain free trade could not be granted by the United States. The 9th of January, 1868, was appointed as voting-day. Guns were fired and bells rung, and there were processions and serenades; the American flag floated from innumerable roofs and towers, and the American national air was played by the bands in every town. The ballot was unanimous in favor of annexation to the United States, there being only twenty-two votes cast against it at St. Thomas,

and not a dissenting vote in St. John. When the news of the vote reached Copenhagen, the Rigsdag ratified the treaty without debate, and the King, on January 31, 1868, promptly signed it. The news of this action was telegraphed to the Secretary of State by the American minister, with the intimation that several European powers hoped the treaty would fail in Congress. Official notice was sent from the Department of State to the Senate when the result of the vote in the islands was known, and attention was called to the fact that four months from the date of conclusion was the limit of time named in the treaty for the exchange of ratifications, and that on February 24, 1868, that time would expire. No response was received at the Department of State to this notice.

In the mean time, the Danish minister communicated to Secretary Seward his readiness to exchange ratifications, all the requirements under the treaty having been complied with on the part of Denmark. He was informed in answer that the treaty was before the Senate. In August, 1868, the government proposed to Denmark to extend the time for the exchange of ratifications for one year; in this way the treaty, which had lapsed, was ratified at the request of the United States. During the busy session of Congress in 1869, the St. Thomas treaty remained suspended; Secretary Fish being, therefore, unable to give any answer to Denmark, a second postponement of action on the treaty was made to April 14, 1870. President Grant was strongly in favor of the treaty, while

1868-70

Attitude
of
European
powers
toward
the
treaty

Treaty
hangs fire
in the
Senate

Action
twice
post-
poned

1861-6

The
whole
matter
dropped

Senator Sumner, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, was as strongly opposed to it. The consequence was that the matter was never brought before the Senate, and Secretary Fish, at the expiration of the date fixed for action, wrote to the Danish minister that, "the Senate having given neither consent to the treaty nor opinion concerning it," he was not authorized to pursue the negotiation any further.

Branch
of the
Fenians
organ-
ized

A year or two before the close of the war, an attempt was made to establish a branch of the Fenian organization in this country. Its original aim was to collect money for carrying on the campaign in Ireland. With this advertised purpose in view, tens of thousands of dollars were collected, mainly from the laboring classes in this country who could ill afford it. Much of this money never got further than the hands of the collectors. When the war closed, a large number of adventurous Irish soldiers found themselves without occupation and were ready for any enterprise, no matter how unlawful or dangerous. They became members of the organization, and a new plan of campaign was organized by the leaders. The plan was to bring together a large force for an attack upon Canada. This force was to be divided and scattered along the border from eastern Vermont to western New York. From these different points a simultaneous attack was to be made. For some time there was a great deal of talk and the matter was widely discussed in the press, but, so long as no overt act was committed,

Plan an
attack
upon
Canada

the government, not believing that the plans of the organization would be carried into effect, made no move. There were a few of the organization who honestly believed that such a plan might be successfully carried out, but most of the leaders unquestionably recognized its impossibility. It was necessary, however, to do something to impress those who were furnishing the money, the honest but ignorant day workers, laborers, and servant-girls who were constantly appealed to for help to "free Ireland."

1866

Success
improb-
able

In the latter part of May, 1866, John O'Neil, afterwards president of the Fenian Brotherhood, received orders to start with his command from Nashville, Tennessee, and report at Buffalo, New York, where he was to meet detachments from other places. On the 27th of May, he started from Nashville with 115 men. At Louisville, Kentucky, he was joined by Colonel Owen Starr with 144 men. At Indianapolis, 100 more men joined the company. These combined forces, numbering less than 400 in all, reached Buffalo on the morning of the 30th, and awaited reinforcements which swelled their number to 600 men. At noon on the 2d of June, they commenced crossing on canal-boats from Black Rock, just below the city, and landed at the little village of Waterloo on the Canadian side, near the ruins of Old Fort Erie. A requisition was made upon the people of the village for rations, which naturally was promptly complied with. The invading force then went into camp four miles distant from the place of crossing.

On to
"Canada"A small
force
crosses
the
border

1866
June

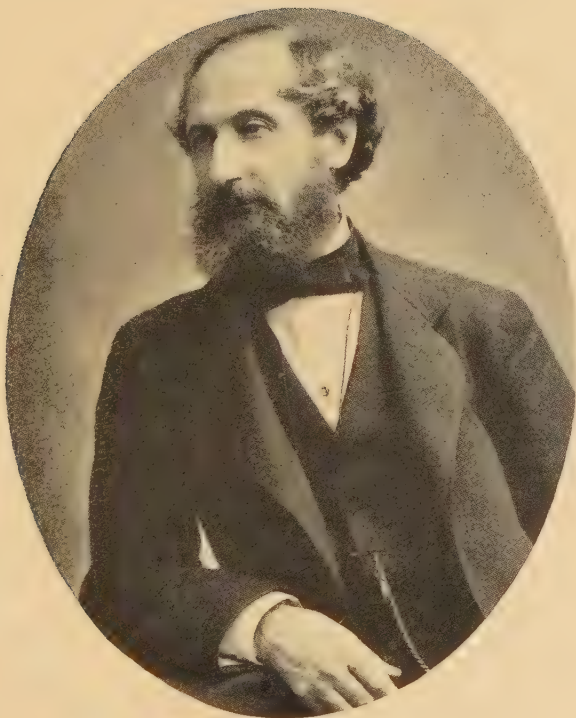
Retreat
of the
invaders

During the night nearly half the men deserted, most of them re-crossing to Buffalo, and others scattering about the country. From this place, O'Neil marched his men along what was called Lime Stone Ridge Road to the village of Ridgeway, where a skirmish took place with a company of local militia. Brisk firing was kept up between the two for twenty minutes, during which several were killed and wounded on each side. The invaders then hurriedly retreated along the road they had come, back to the place of crossing, which they reached about four o'clock in the afternoon.

Minor en-
counters

By this time all discipline had disappeared. An uncalled-for attack was made upon a building at the landing where several wounded Canadians were lying, repeated volleys being fired against it and through the windows. Scattered groups of the Fenians looted the stores of the little village, throwing away afterwards in the street what they did not care for. The deserters of the night before had seized upon all available means of re-crossing, and the only means of escape to the American side was by means of an old water-logged canal-boat lying by the wharf. This was baled out and filled with the escaping crowd, who, with boards for paddles, set out for the opposite shore. Midway in the stream, which was about a mile in width, the boat was intercepted by the United States steamer *Michigan*, which had been ordered to patrol the river and prevent further invasion. Some few who were unable to escape remained on the Canadian side and were taken prisoners. At

In-
glorious
ending of
the affair



CYRUS W. FIELD.

the same time a demonstration was made at Malone, New York, but the results are hardly worthy of mention.

1858-66

The year 1866 was signalized by the successful laying of the Atlantic Cable. Two unsuccessful attempts had been made to connect Europe with America, the first in 1858, when a wire cable was stretched from Newfoundland to Ireland. - The first message over it was sent by the Queen to the President of the United States, as follows: "Glory to God in the highest! Peace on earth and good will to men!" The system worked imperfectly, and within a month ceased to work altogether. The possibility of communication had been proved, however, and the indefatigable inventor was by no means disheartened. In 1865, he secured sufficient capital to lay a second cable. The steamer *Great Eastern*, which had it on board, had proceeded more than 1200 miles on her way from Ireland to America, when the cable parted and was lost. Still, Mr. Field did not despair. Capital was again secured, and in July, 1866, the *Great Eastern* again set out with 2000 miles of cable coiled in her hold. This time the laying was a complete success. Imperfections, which had existed in the previous system, had been eliminated, and the working of the cable was now perfect. Since that time there has been no interruption in submarine communication between Europe and America. Ten lines now cross the northern Atlantic, and nearly every important place in the world not reached by the land system is connected

Connect-
ing
Europe
and
America
by cable

Success-
fully
accom-
plished
in 1866

1868

Commer-
cial
value of
cable
system

by cables. By its means the market prices in the great trade centres of America and Europe are reported daily, and business transactions can be made in a few hours between American and European houses. The various countries of the civilized world are brought into closer and more sympathetic relations. A notable instance of its capabilities was shown in the late Portsmouth peace conference, where messages from that point to Japan and Russia were sent and answers received the same day.

Civil
service
reform
taken up

In Congress, on May 25, 1868, a report was made from the Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment looking to reforms in the civil service. Prior to the adoption of the Constitution, the civil service included no other officers than those appointed by the Congress of the Confederation. At that time there were no government revenue laws, no revenue offices, few executive departments with their chiefs and staff of clerks and force of employees. When the Constitution was adopted, the power of creating offices and appointing officers of the United States independent of those of the separate States and superior to them for the purposes of the general government first came into being. This power was exercised at first cautiously and with great discrimination. President Washington was as solicitous about the character and qualifications of a person to be appointed in any of the custom-houses as if he was to be employed in his own household. He never inquired into the political opinions of any candidate for executive

Appoint-
ing power
at first
wisely
used

appointment. Private friendship was not only no recommendation, but was an obstacle to any one who claimed his favor for that reason. During the eight years of his administration, Washington removed but nine persons from office, all of which removals were for cause. Under Adams' administration not a single dismissal was made for political opinion's sake. When Jefferson came into power, after a violent political contest, it was supposed he would make many removals, but he declared, "The only questions concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

The system of appointment to office, which the Civil Service bill was an attempt to reform, was instituted in the first month of the Presidency of General Jackson. Down to that time all the offices in the civil service of the government had been considered to be held by the tenure of good behavior. Without delay, the very week that Jackson came into power, he announced the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils"; which meant, in effect, that the entire force of the civil service of the United States might be changed for mere political opinion without any regard whatever to the qualifications or the meritorious services of the person in office or the person seeking office. For forty years after Jackson, the partisan obligations of a candidate for office were held to be of more consequence than his qualifications for the place for which he was a candidate, and every administrative department of the government was

1868

Practice
in early
adminis-
trationsTenure of
office
during
good
behaviorYields to
partisan
demands

1868 used as an instrument of party patronage. It was the discontinuance of this system that was aimed at in the appointment of this committee.

Proposed
require-
ments to
be made
of candi-
dates

The bill proposed to establish a board of commissioners which should ascertain and determine the standard of qualification required for a candidate for each class and care of these inferior offices, and provided that every such candidate should pass a satisfactory examination in such manner as a board of commissioners should require before being appointed to any of these places, and should serve satisfactorily during the period of probation, the limits and conditions of which should also be fixed by the board, before being entitled to a permanent place in the service. It was an attempt to require a certain degree of fitness in every candidate for the office which he wished to hold, and to permit no one not possessing the requisite qualifications to enter into the public service. Congress showed little inclination to consider the subject. Many of the members regarded the bill as an attempt to deprive them of their legitimate rights, and, besides, the fight with the President engrossed the attention of most. It went by default, therefore, to be brought up now and then in after administrations, when one party or another wished to make an unusual show of virtue, to be dropped when the need passed.

Congress
averse to
taking
any
action

In the closing year of Johnson's administration, a proposal was received from the Russian government for the sale of the territory of Alaska. This vast region of country, lying in the far

northwest corner of the North American continent, some 500,000 square miles in extent, was an unknown country even to the best informed men in Congress, who regarded it as nothing but a barren area of snow and ice, and utterly worthless for any conceivable purpose.

1867-9

Alaska
for sale

There were, perhaps, half a dozen men in the entire body who had a fair appreciation of the value of the country. Among them was Charles Sumner, who, in a masterly speech, set forth the reasons why the offer of sale should be accepted. Mr. Sumner regarded it as a visible step in the occupation of the whole North American continent. "We dismiss," he said, "one other monarch from the continent. One by one they have retired: first France, then Spain, then France again, and now Russia, all giving way to the absorbing unit declared in the national motto '*E pluribus unum*'." The purchase was finally effected by a treaty negotiated by Mr. Seward, and was ratified by the Senate June 20, 1867. Under its provisions the United States government paid Russia \$7,200,000, a sum almost absurd when the real value of the country is taken into consideration.

Farsight-
edness of
SumnerPurchase
made in
1867

On the 10th of May, 1869, the last spike was driven on the Pacific Railroad. This vast enterprise was projected as early as 1853, but its beginning was delayed, and it was not until ten years later that the construction was actually begun.

The
Pacific
Railroad

On the 1st day of July, 1862, Congress passed an act which was approved by the President, to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph

1862

Importance of
a road to
the
Pacific
coast

line from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, and to secure it for the use of the government for postal, military, and other services. For the construction of this road, the companies undertaking it were to receive a grant of public land amounting to five alternate sections per mile on each side of the road, in addition to which the government agreed to pay \$16,000 per mile, payable upon the completion of each forty miles of road. Both parties in Congress recognized the importance of communication with the Pacific coast, and for this reason little opposition was shown to the bill.

Company
organized for
construction

A company had already been organized under the provisions of the act, but, after consideration, its officers reported that they would be unable to construct the road upon the conditions prescribed by the aid rendered. The reasons assigned were that it was impossible to realize money from the lands under the grant, as they were too remote for settlement, and \$16,000 per mile was declared insufficient to secure the means requisite for the construction of the road through the rugged passes of the Rocky Mountains. Two years after the passage of the act, the corporators made an application to Congress for further assistance, which met with generous response. The land grant was doubled, and, instead of \$16,000 per mile, \$32,000 was granted, and, for certain difficult sections, \$48,000 per mile. This grant was subordinated as a second mortgage on the road and its franchise, and the company was empowered to

Generous
grants
made by
Congress

issue a first mortgage for the same amount for each mile.

1862

Prominent members of both branches of Congress who supported the bill in the main protested against these new provisions as needlessly extravagant. Senator Washburn declared, and showed statistics to support his assertion, that the government was granting \$95,000,000 to the enterprise, besides half of the land in a strip twenty miles wide from the Missouri to the Pacific. Notwithstanding, the bill passed, only five votes being recorded against it in the Senate. Two organizations instead of one were formed to carry out the work; one, known as the Union Pacific Company, was headed by Oakes Ames and Oliver Ames from Massachusetts, capitalists and manufacturers, and noted for capacity and energy. This division extended from Omaha, Nebraska, on the Missouri River, to Ogden, Utah, a distance of 1032 miles. The western division, called the Central Pacific, headed by Governor Leland Stanford and C. P. Huntington, constructed the road from San Francisco to Ogden, a distance of 882 miles.

Despite some protests, bill passes by large majority

Two companies to construct

The chief engineer of the work was General G. M. Dodge, who had explored the whole country from the Missouri River to Salt Lake in 1853, when he was employed on the Rock Island Road, making surveys. His intimate relations with Grant and Sherman put him on such terms with commanding officers of garrisons and military posts along the line that he was enabled, during the construction, to avail himself of military aid against Indians,

Task of the chief engineer

1862-9

Attacks
by
Indians

and in maintaining order among the thousands of his workmen. The laborers consisted almost entirely of discharged soldiers. Frequent attacks were threatened by the Indians, but these men were so thoroughly drilled that at the first alarm they would fall into line, each man with his musket, and prepare for emergencies as quickly and readily as if they were still under military command.

Public
interest
aroused

The two roads, which were working towards each other, were separate corporations and had not always been in perfect harmony. The law under which both were constructed required a junction to be made when the tracklayers met. This was done at a small place called Promontory Point, just north of Salt Lake. At the inception of the project, the people and newspapers of the country regarded it as visionary and impossible, but when it was found that the work was proceeding in earnest and with rapidity, public attention became aroused, and in the last year of construction it formed one of the most prominent topics of conversation and newspaper comment.

End of
construc-
tion to be
cele-
brated

It was decided by the officials of both roads that the driving of the last spike should be accompanied with formal ceremonies. The point of meeting was so distant that no large attendance could be expected, and the opportunities were small for celebrating the occasion on any adequate scale. However, arrangements were made with the telegraph companies, and all the principal offices in the United States were informed that as soon as the preliminaries were completed, a signal would

be given and every office put in connection with Promontory, and that the last blow of the hammer driving the last spike would be communicated by the instrument at the same moment to every station reached by the wires.

1868
May 10

Governor Stanford of California came with a small party from San Francisco, and there were several prominent men from the East, among them contractors, surveyors, and engineers. Although the crowd was small, it was enthusiastic, and cheers were given for everybody, from the President to the Chinese laborers on the road. Governor Stanford made a brief speech to which General Dodge replied. The last tie was placed under the rails by the two superintendents of construction, S. B. Reed of the Union Pacific, and S. W. Strawbridge of the Central Pacific. It was made of California laurel highly polished, with a silver plate in the center bearing the inscription, "The last tie laid upon the completion of the Pacific Railroad, May 10, 1869," with the names of the officers and directors of both companies. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Todd of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, after which the committee which had been commissioned to present the spikes, two of gold and two of silver, from Montana, Idaho, California, and Nevada, handed them to Governor Stanford on the north and Dr. Durant on the south side of the track, who received them and put them in place. They were driven by two men with silver hammers, and at each stroke, in all the prominent telegraph offices of the United States, the hammer

Cere-
monies
attend-
ing
placing
of last tie

Driving
of the
last
spikes

1869
May 10

of the magnet struck the bell. As soon as the spikes were driven, the two engines on the different divisions moved up until they touched, and a bottle of champagne was poured on the last rail in the way of christening.

Joy over
union of
East and
West

The event was celebrated in many of the cities of the country, and, in New York, Trinity Church was thrown open at noon and an address delivered by the Rev. Dr. Vinton. In Philadelphia, bells were rung and cannons were fired. At Chicago, public demonstrations of joy took place, and at Buffalo crowds gathered around the telegraph office and listened to speeches from distinguished citizens. On the following day, May 11, trains began running regularly over the whole line. The great East was in communication with the great West, and the two were now welded together for all time.

San
Domingo
proposes
annexa-
tion

Soon after the accession of General Grant to the Presidency, a revolution broke out in San Domingo, and the legal President of the Republic, Baez, fearing the overthrow of his government, proposed annexation to the United States. General Babcock was sent in July, 1869, to San Domingo, with instructions to inquire into the political situation and into the value of the resources of the country. Babcock, who transcended his instructions, secured a treaty from Baez for the annexation of the Dominican Republic to the United States. This proposed treaty, which Grant strongly endorsed, was sent to the Senate in July, 1870, for ratification, where serious opposition to

its passage developed. The President, in consequence, sent a written argument in support of the proposed treaty to the Senate. He stated in its behalf that the acquisition of San Domingo would cut off one hundred millions of dollars' worth of the imports of the United States and largely increase its exports, and would thus enable the United States to extinguish its large debt abroad; that it would give the United States military command of the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the isthmus transit of commerce; and that it was necessary in order to maintain the Monroe Doctrine. He declared that the inhabitants of San Domingo "yearned for the protection of our free institutions and laws, and our progress and civilization." Lastly, he affirmed that he had information that a European power was standing ready to offer \$2,000,000 for the possession of Samana Bay alone. The Committee on Foreign Affairs reported that the treaty be not ratified, and the Senate sustained the committee.

A year later, in his annual message, the President again referred to the matter, and declared that if the United States did not take San Domingo, some European nation would acquire the Bay of Samana and create there a great commercial city to which the United States would become tributary without receiving corresponding benefits. He asked Congress to authorize him to appoint a commission to negotiate a treaty with the authorities of San Domingo for its annexation to the United States. Senator Morton of

1870-1

Grant
argues in
favor of
the
treaty

But the
Senate is
averse

Matter
again
brought
up

1871

Commis-
sion ap-
pointed
to inves-
tigate

Indiana offered a resolution to empower the President to appoint a commission to go to San Domingo to inquire into the political situation and the resources of the country. This passed, and the President appointed as commissioners Benjamin F. Wade, Andrew D. White, and Samuel G. Howe. These gentlemen proceeded to San Domingo, carried on their investigations, and reported in favor of the President's recommendation. This report the President accompanied with a message vindicating his conduct in regard to the matter, but abandoning the scheme which he saw was impossible.

Breach
between
Grant
and
Sumner

One of the bitterest opponents of the administration's San Domingo policy was Senator Sumner, who made it a subject of an almost personal attack upon the President in a speech in the Senate. Unpleasant feeling had for some time existed between the two, and the occasion gave opportunity for a display of it on both sides. Mr. Sumner denounced the proposed treaty as a measure of violations and a dance of blood. He accused the President of trickery in attempting to secure a treaty for San Domingo and of negotiating for annexation with a political jockey, and warned him not to follow the example of Franklin Pierce, of James Buchanan, and of Andrew Johnson.

After this, all personal intercourse was broken off between Grant and Sumner; the accusations of the Senator were not justified by public opinion. They were regarded generally as an exhibition of temper unworthy his high position, and utterly

uncalled for. As a result, at the opening of the forty-second Congress, in March, 1871, Senator Sumner was deposed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations, a position he had held continuously since the Republican party gained control of the Senate. He was appointed to the chairmanship of a new Committee on Privileges and Elections, which was created for the exigency. This removal was determined upon at a caucus of Republican Senators for the reason that "the personal relations between the Senator from Massachusetts and the President of the United States and the head of the State Department are such as preclude all social intercourse between them." This action was strongly protested against by a minority in the Senate. Henry Wilson, Mr. Sumner's colleague, made an earnest speech against the action of the committee. Mr. Sumner declined to serve on the new committee to which he had been assigned, and from that time forward until his death he had no rank as chairman, no place upon a committee, and no clerk assigned to him for the discharge of his public duties. He accepted the situation with dignity, making no complaint and silently submitting to the humiliation and wrong to which he was subjected. When the question of his deposition came before the Senate, the Democratic members recorded themselves against its carrying out.

1871-4

Deposal
of
SumnerHis
future
career

Early in this session, Mr. Hale of Maine moved to suspend the rules in order that a bill might be introduced removing legal and political disabilities

1869-70

Bill for
removal
of legal
and
political
dis-
abilities

from all persons who had participated in the Civil War, except the following classes: First, members of the Congress of the United States who withdrew therefrom and aided the Rebellion; second, officers of the army and navy who, being above the age of twenty-one years, left the service and aided the Rebellion; third, members of State conventions who voted for pretended ordinances of secession. It was further provided that before receiving the benefit of this act, each person should take an oath of loyalty before the clerk of a United States court or before the United States Commissioner. The bill was passed by more than the requisite two-thirds; when it came before the Senate, objection was made and it was referred under the rules and thereby postponed for the session.

Recon-
struction
com-
pleted

A pros-
perous
decade

In 1870, the work of reorganization of the Southern States was completed, and on the 30th of March, with the admission of Texas, the last of the seceded States, the voice of all the States for the first time since the outbreak of the Civil War was heard in the councils of the nation. In the same year was completed the ninth census of the United States, which showed that, notwithstanding the ravages of war, the decade covered had been a period of wonderful growth and progress. In that time the population of the country had increased from 31,443,000 to 38,587,000 people. The centre of population had moved westward into Ohio, to a point fifty miles east of Cincinnati. The Union now included thirty-seven

States and eleven Territories. In the single year of 1871, there were laid to put into operation in the United States, 7670 miles of railroad.

1870

In 1870, a second invasion of Canada was planned by the Fenian Brotherhood, led as before by General O'Neil, who for two years had labored assiduously in organizing and preparing for the campaign. Every pains was taken to avoid the mistakes of the campaign of 1866. Large quantities of arms were stored at various points along the northern border, and several thousand men had pledged themselves to be on hand to take part in the proposed movement. The two principal points of attack were to be from Malone, New York, and Franklin, Vermont. The plan was to capture St. Johns on the Richelieu River, twenty-two miles from Montreal and about the same distance from the border, and Richmond, in Richmond County, where the Grand Trunk Railroad connects with the main road between Montreal and Quebec. An army of 500 men, armed with breech-loaders and a good supply of ammunition, was to proceed on the train Tuesday morning from St. Albans to Rouses' Point, and there seize the train from St. Johns, having destroyed the track in advance to prevent the escape of the train, and then run back and capture St. Johns, which was entirely undefended. If, by any accident, the train could not be seized or used for the purpose intended, then the men were to proceed on foot, and if they could not capture they could at least threaten the town, and falling back a little way, await reinforcements.

Fenians
become
active
againPlans of
the
leaders

1870

Proposed
points of
attack

At the same time a detachment of some 200 men from Rhode Island was to proceed by way of Island Point to Richmond and capture it. The balance of the men under O'Neil, which would number about 1200 men, were to concentrate at Franklin, Vermont, cross the line and march on St. Johns, threatening Montreal. Horses and property were to be seized, and the railroad tracks destroyed to prevent the movement of an opposing force. A force of 200 men was to cross the river from Detroit, seize horses from the farms in the country, and make a raid for the purpose of distracting attention from other points. At the same time a force was ordered to the extreme Western States and Territories to harass and annoy the Red River expedition, and if President Real would fight, to assist him in resisting the march of the Canadian forces in the Winnipeg country. These were General O'Neil's plans and expectations.

Disap-
point-
ment and
failure at
the
outset

He repaired to St. Johns on May 24, where he expected on that date 1200 men promised by the Massachusetts branch of the Brotherhood. Instead, thirty men made their appearance in a condition which led O'Neil to remark that the captain and most of his men would have better served the cause by remaining at home. In place of 600 men promised by Vermont, eighty men put in an appearance, sixty-five arriving later. O'Neil now had to abandon his plans, but he decided upon making a demonstration. He had only 200 or 300 men in camp at Franklin, most of them entirely ignorant of drill, some incapable even of loading

a gun. Liquor had flowed in the camp like water, and the march of some of them toward the line was of the zigzag rather than in a straightforward order. The approach to the border was in defiance of all military rules. No skirmish line was thrown out, and the exact boundary which separated the two countries was unknown. This was along the course of a little stream crossed by the line of march. On the American side the road for half a mile sloped gently toward the bridge crossing the stream. On the Canadian side was a low hill along the ridge of which ran a stone wall. Behind this were posted about sixty Canadian militia, mostly farmers of the surrounding country who had flocked together without leaders, much as did the farmers at Lexington.

1870

A motley
array

The Fenian forces were unaware of their proximity, and marched boldly in close column down the road toward the bridge. A rod or two before it was reached, a volley from the Canadians killed one man and wounded several. The column at once broke, the men seeking shelter in an adjacent farmhouse, behind the outbuildings, and under the bridge. Not more than a dozen shots were fired in return, which did no damage. The would-be invaders were demoralized at the first fire. Many of them deserted the ranks and made their way back to Franklin. Others utterly refused to make further resistance, and defied their officers.

Easily
scattered
by a few
Canadians

About this time General George B. Foster, United States marshal, with his deputy and a number of citizens, made his appearance and

1870

O'Neil
jailed at
Bur-
lington

placed O'Neil under arrest. He was driven rapidly to St. Johns, where he was brought before the United States Commissioner on charge of having violated the neutrality laws. He waived examination, and in default of bail was committed to jail at Burlington. Later he was tried and sentenced to two years' confinement in the State's prison at Windsor, Vermont. After serving two months and a half, he was pardoned by General Grant and returned to his home at Nashville. In the mean time, the so-called Fenian army had dissolved into thin air. The few of its honest officers who had really been swayed by what they considered patriotic motives were disgusted and discouraged, and publicly withdrew from the organization. At his trial, General O'Neil said: "Whatever may have been my opinion heretofore, I may now state that any further attempt at the invasion of Canada would be highly criminal, because there is not the remotest chance of success." At the same time he renounced all connection officially and otherwise with the Fenian Brotherhood. Major Murphy of O'Neil's staff, in his official report of the affair, said: "I have a few words to say to those who may be drawn into a similar movement hereafter by any man or faction of men: Never join an organization of Irish nationalists, so-called, if they are not united. You are only helping to prolong the quarrel and indefinitely postpone the freedom of Ireland. You cannot expect that a set of men who are always quarreling with each other for power and office

All hope
of suc-
cess goneMajor
Murphy's
plain
words



M. C. MURPHY.



JOHN O'NEIL.



OWEN STARR.

LEADING MEMBERS OF THE FENIAN BROTHERHOOD.

will be men enough to forget those quarrels when the enemy is vanquished. We have no quarrel with any of these factions, and, feeling that we have done our duty, we now withdraw from any further connection with any faction calling itself by any name. We have attended a few Congresses of the organization, and heard nothing but lying and scoundrelism, the most solemn pledges broken, and all the gasconade, when outside the Congress, wholly vanishes into thin air."

1865-9

His withdrawal from the Brotherhood

The feeling of irritation against England continued after the close of the war. The attitude of Lord John Russell had been, throughout the whole period, distinctly offensive to the United States government. After the restoration of peace, Mr. Adams, in behalf of the United States, made a claim upon the British government for damages sustained by the nation and private individuals from the acts of its subjects in furnishing warships and munitions to the Confederates. These claims were rejected by the British ministry as preposterous. There was a strong party in the United States in favor of war with England, but before the troubles came to a head, Mr. Adams returned to the United States and was succeeded as minister by Mr. Reverdy Johnson, who yielded much of the ground assumed by Mr. Adams in reference to claims for national injury.

War damages claimed from England

A crisis averted

In the mean time, a Parliamentary election had taken place in England, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Gladstone's Cabinet was first Lord Stanley and then the Earl of Clarendon,

1869-70

Senate
rejects
propo-
sals for
arbitra-
tionGreat
Britain's
attitude
cause of
public
irritationIII
feeling
increases

both of whom were opposed to the policy of Lord John Russell and warm friends of the American government. In January, 1869, a treaty was concluded by Mr. Johnson and the Earl of Clarendon submitting to arbitration the claims for direct damage to property rights. This treaty was laid before the Senate, and promptly rejected on the ground that it did not make proper provision for the reparation of wrongs to the nation. Grant, in his first message to Congress, referred to the situation as one which, from its intricate character, could not be adjusted and satisfied as ordinary commercial claims which continually arise among commercial nations, from which they differ more widely in the gravity of their character than from the magnitude of their amount. "Not a word," he said, "was found in the treaty, and not an inference could be drawn from it, to remove the sense of the unfriendliness of the course of Great Britain in our struggle for existence which had so deeply and universally impressed itself upon the people of this country." He endorsed the action of the Senate in rejecting the treaty as a necessary step in the direction of a perfect and cordial friendship between the two countries. No further progress was made in the way of settlement for another year, and the differences between the two governments seemed to increase rather than diminish. The British ministry did not appear willing to concede that her Majesty's government was guilty of any negligence, or did or committed any act during the

war by which the United States had just cause of complaint.

1870-1

The opinion of the American people was directly the opposite. In December, 1870, the President recommended Congress to appoint a commission to take proof of the amount and ownership of the several claims for damages, and that authority be given for the settlement of these claims by the United States so that the government should have the ownership of the private claims and the responsible control of all the demands against Great Britain, the government of which was notified that whenever it should entertain the desire for a full and friendly adjustment of these claims, the United States would enter upon their consideration with an earnest desire for the conclusion consistent with the honor and dignity of both nations. Soon after, in January, 1871, the British government sent Sir John Rose to Washington to consult with the President on the subject, with the result that the British minister to the United States, Sir Edward Thornton, formally proposed to the Honorable Hamilton Fish, the Secretary of State, the appointment of a joint high commission for the purpose of settling the questions between the two governments relative to Great Britain's North American possessions. This proposition was accepted with the provision that the differences growing out of the Civil War should be included among the subjects to be considered. This condition was agreed to, and the following members were appointed in the commission: On

Presi-
dent
Grant's
recom-
menda-
tions

Some
progress
made

1871

Joint
High
Commis-
sion ap-
pointed

the part of the United States were Hamilton Fish, Ebenezer R. Hoar, Justice Samuel Nelson, Robert C. Schenck, and George H. Williams; those appointed by the British government were Earl DeGray and Ripon, Sir John MacDonald, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, and Professor Montague Bernard.

Treaty
provides
for
tribunal
of arbi-
tration

The committee at once met, and on the 8th of May, 1871, the treaty of Washington was concluded and ratified, and on the 4th of July given to the world. In this treaty the British government expressed regret for the escape of the Confederate vessels from its ports and for the depredations committed by them, and agreed for a tribunal of arbitration composed of five members, one of whom should be named by the President, one by the Queen, one by the King of Italy, one by the President of the Swiss Confederation, and one by the Emperor of Brazil, and, in case either of the last three mentioned should fail to name an arbitrator, they agreed that one should be named by the King of Sweden and Norway, and, finally, that one agent should be named by each of the high contracting parties to represent it generally in all matters connected with arbitration. The treaty provided that, in deciding the matters submitted, the arbitrators should be governed by the following rules:

Rules to
govern
arbi-
trators

“A neutral government is bound, first, to use diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against

a power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction to warlike use. Secondly, not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men. Thirdly, to exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties."

1871

Treaty provisions favorable to this country

The treaty provided that the result of the proceedings of the tribunal should be accepted as a final settlement of all the claims known as the *Alabama* claims, and should be a bar to any further proceedings in regard to them. In this treaty the United States government won every point for which it had contended.

The arbitrators appointed were, on the part of the United States, Mr. Charles Francis Adams; on the part of Great Britain, Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn; the Italian King appointed Count Fredrick Sclopis; the President of the Swiss Confederation designated Mr. Jacob Staempfli; and the Emperor of Brazil named the Baron d'Itajuba. The President of the United States also appointed Mr. J. C. Bancroft Davis as the agent of the United States before the tribunal, and Mr. Caleb Cushing, Mr. William M. Evarts, and Mr. Morrison R. Waite as counsel. The British government appointed Lord Tenterden as the agent of Great Britain before the tribunal, and Sir Roundell Palmer as chief counsel.

Make-up of tribunal of arbitration

1871-2

Meeting
in
Geneva

The tribunal met at Geneva on the 15th of December, 1871. The printed case of each of the high contracting parties was filed by the agent of each, and the counter cases were ordered to be filed before the 15th day of the following April. An adjournment was then made to June 15.

English
incensed
at Amer-
ican
claimsFirm at-
titude of
Secre-
tary Fish

When the claims of the United States government were made public they aroused warm discussion in the English press. So bitter was the criticism that General Schenck, United States minister, cabled the Secretary of State saying that there was a universal demand that the claims for national and indirect damages should be withdrawn. Mr. Fish at once replied that there must be no withdrawal of any part of the claim presented. The matter was warmly debated in Parliament, and early in February a diplomatic discussion was opened between Lord Granville, the British Foreign Minister, and the American Secretary of State. Mr. Fish held his ground, and insisted that the claims of every character should be disposed of by the tribunal in order to remove them from the demand of further controversy, and in order to establish perfect harmony in the relations of the two countries.

Gloomy
outlook

When the tribunal met on the 15th of June, there was so wide a difference of opinion that it looked as if the work of the commissioners would go for naught and that the feeling of hostility between the two countries would be intensified. An adjournment was taken for four days. On reconvening, the president of the tribunal announced

that the arbitrators had decided to inform the two high contracting parties that "the arbitrators did not consider the claims for national and indirect damages to be of good foundation in international law for an award of compensation or computation of damages between nations, but were unanimously of the opinion that such claims should be excluded from the consideration of the tribunal in making its award, even if there were no disagreement between the two governments as to the competency of the tribunal to decide them."

1872

Arbitra-
tors
make
state-
ment

An agreement to proceed was, however, finally arrived at, and on the 17th of July the tribunal proceeded to take up the cases of the Confederate privateers built and manned in British ports. These were taken up in order, and by a majority vote it was decided that the British government had showed a lack of due diligence in the discharge of its neutral duties in the cases of the *Alabama* and *Florida* and their respective tenders, and also in the case of the *Shenandoah* from the time she left the port of Melbourne, and awarded as the amount due to the United States from Great Britain for the damages committed by these vessels, \$15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity for the satisfaction of all the claims referred. Sir Alexander Cockburn refused to sign the award, and filed the statement of his reason for so doing. The other four members signed it, and, as the majority rule had been provided for in the treaty, both of the high contracting parties regarded themselves as duly bound to observe it.

England
convicted
of neg-
ligenceUnited
States
wins in
its con-
tention

1872-3

Boun-
dary line
dispute

Another question of importance came up for settlement by the tribunal. It was one of long standing, and concerned the boundary line between the United States and British Columbia. This question the governments of the two countries agreed to submit to the arbitration and award of his Majesty, the German Emperor, whose decision thereon should be final. The Emperor accepted this duty, and on the 21st of October, 1872, announced his award upholding the contention of the United States.

Increase
of
salaries
of public
officials

From the beginning, the salaries of public officers of the United States were small as compared with those of other nations. With the increase of expenses attendant upon the change of customs and manner of living at the capital, it became impossible for the higher officials to maintain their positions without drawing upon their own private means. Very properly, a movement was made in March, 1873, by Congress to increase the salaries of the officials of the government. The salary of the President was raised from \$25,000 to \$50,000; that of the Chief Justice, from \$8,500 to \$10,500; those of the Vice-President, Associate Justices, Cabinet officers, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, from \$8,000 to \$10,000; and those of the Senators and Representatives, from \$5,000 to \$7,500.

This increase was regarded by the country at large as perfectly legitimate, and no criticism would have been made but for a supplementary act passed by Congress making the change in the

salaries of its own members date back to 1871. This bill, which was called “The Salary Grab,” aroused such general indignation that it was at once repealed. Several members of Congress refused to accept the back pay, and the next year all the sums were reduced to their former figures except those of the President and Justices.

1869-75

The
“salary
grab”

Ex-President Johnson, who for six years had been out of public life, now reappeared as Senator from Tennessee, succeeding W. S. Brownlow. Hardly had the session begun before he seized the opportunity to make a vindictive attack upon the President. He denounced Sheridan’s military administration in Louisiana, praised that of Hancock, and accused the President of intriguing for a third term. No reply was made to his speech, as even his own friends deprecated it. Johnson’s term of service was brief. He died at his home in east Tennessee, July 31, four months after the adjournment of the session.

Andrew
John-
son’s
appear-
ance in
the
Senate

September 24, 1869, occurred the great monetary panic in New York, known as Black Friday, brought on by a ring of Wall Street speculators headed by Jay Gould and James Fisk, Jr. These men cornered the gold market, the intent being to force the price up to a fabulous figure, then sell out, reaping enormous fortunes for themselves at the expense of ruin to thousands. The plan only partially succeeded. It was intended to advance the price to 200. It had already reached 160 when Secretary Boutwell, realizing the situation, ordered a sale from the Subtreasury of four millions

Financial
panic in
New York

1871
Success
of the
"corner"

of gold. The price dropped instantly, but Fisk and Gould realized out of what they had already accomplished more than \$11,000,000. There were hundreds of failures, and it was months before the business of the country recovered from the effects of the shock.

Great
fire in
Chicago

On the evening of the 8th of October, 1871, a fire broke out in Chicago, originating on DeKoven street on the west side of the river. The region was largely composed of poor wooden buildings and shanties of a highly inflammable character. The conflagration rapidly spread across the river to the south side, sweeping steadily on to the north, burning everything before it from the lake to the South Branch, then, crossing to the north side, it devoured everything from the lake to the North Branch, until there was nothing left to burn. Among the buildings destroyed were the Court-house, Custom-house, Post-office, Chamber of Commerce, three railroad depots, nine daily newspaper offices, several hospitals, ten theatres and halls, forty-one churches, eight public school buildings, five grain elevators, and all the national banks. Nearly 90,000 buildings were consumed and 100,000 people were rendered homeless; 200 lives were lost, and \$200,000,000 worth of property destroyed. Terrible as was the calamity, it was a blessing in disguise. Rebuilding was at once begun, and in five years the city was more beautiful and magnificent than before. The streets had been widened and improved, the buildings were of a finer character, and very many had been made fire-proof.

Attended
with
large
loss of
life and
property

Improve-
ment
after the
fire



THE RUINS OF THE BOSTON FIRE.

Acres of low wooden structures were replaced by imposing buildings, and many plague-spots were wiped out, never again to make their appearance.

A great fire, second in extent only to that in Chicago, broke out in Boston on the evening of November 2, 1872. It originated in a large granite building at the corner of Kingston and Summer streets. The alarm was rung in at six o'clock, and at that time the fire was confined to a single building. An hour later it had spread in every direction, and was beyond the power of the fire department to extinguish it or to check its progress. From the place of its beginning, it swept up Summer street to Washington, and, at the same time, northward through High, Devonshire, Otis, Arch, and Hawley streets towards State, taking in Franklin, Congress, Pearl, Purchase, and Broad streets, obliterating them up to Milk, to the south side of the Post-office, where it crumbled the massive granite pillars on the southern side of that building. On Washington street it stopped at the corner of Milk, the last building destroyed being the handsome granite building just erected by the Boston *Transcript* opposite the Old South Church. Below the Post-office it spread through Congress to State, blotting out Liberty Square, Congress Square, Morton Place, South Lindall, Bath, and Broad streets. Fire-engines came from adjoining cities, some of them fifty miles away. At that time an epidemic was raging among the horses, and there were probably not fifty in the entire city available for work. In any case they could

1872

Confla-
gration
in "The
Hub"

Onward
sweep of
the
flames

Epidemic
among
the
horses

1872

Chaos in
Boston's
streets

not have been utilized. The streets were impassable from the crowds of people and the heaps of boxes, bales, and loose goods of all descriptions piled in the middle of the streets. For twenty-four hours the fire raged. Several military companies were called out and employed to keep the people from crowding into dangerous places and thieves from carrying off plunder. For two weeks the fire smouldered, and occasionally burst into flames. As soon as the ruins were cold, the work of clearing away the débris and rebuilding began. Like Chicago, Boston at last rose from its ashes more imposing than ever, with an immense increase in business facilities which largely remunerated the sufferers for their losses. Twenty persons were killed during the fire, and more than double that number were seriously injured. The property loss was over \$60,000,000.

Destruc-
tion fol-
lowed by
prosper-
ityModocs
on the
war-path

In the fall of 1872, the Modoc Indians refused to leave their lands in Oregon for a new reservation, and an open war broke out attended with the usual cruelties. In the following spring, the Indians were surrounded at what was called the Lava Beds, where they agreed to a conference with a committee from the Peace Commission, at which General Canby, the leader of the military forces, was present. In the midst of the council the savages suddenly rose and murdered General Canby and Dr. Thomas, shooting and stabbing Mr. Meacham, a member of the commission, but not killing him. The Modocs were then besieged and captured, the chiefs court-martialed and executed.



GENERAL GEORGE A. CUSTER.



THE CUSTER MONUMENT.

In the closing year of President Grant's first administration, a war broke out with the Sioux Indians. This tribe had, in 1868, made a treaty by which they agreed to relinquish all the territory occupied by them south of the Niobrara River and north of the forty-sixth parallel of latitude. The reservation upon which they retired included the Black Hills, where gold was discovered a year or two later. Into this portion of the reservation swarmed crowds of gold-diggers and adventurers, which brought about a rupture of peace. The Indians were unable to cope with the incomers, and deserted their reservation to ravage unprotected settlements in Wyoming and Montana, burning, stealing, and murdering. The government undertook to drive them back upon their reservation. Generals Crook and Terry were sent against them in the country of the Upper Yellowstone River, where Sitting Bull and several thousand Indians were roaming at large. On the 25th of June, Generals Custer and Reno were sent forward with the Seventh Cavalry, and suddenly came upon the camp of the Indians on the left bank of the Little Big Horn River. It was too late to retreat, and Custer charged with his little company of 262 men headlong into the Sioux camp. Of the details of the fight nothing is known, for not a single man of Custer's command came out of the fight alive. Fighting continued during the summer and autumn. On the 24th of November, the Fourth Cavalry under Colonel McKenzie attacked the main Sioux village, consisting of 173

1876

War with
the
Sioux
IndiansReserva-
tion
invaded
by gold-
seekersMassacre
of Custer
and his
command

1877 lodges, and entirely destroyed it, and on the 5th
of January the savages were again overtaken and
Sioux routed by Colonel Miles. The Indians, now under
driven into Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, escaped across the
Canada border into Canada.

CHAPTER CXIII.

GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

The campaign of 1872 presented aspects which had never before existed in the political condition of the country. Greeley, the Abolitionist and "black Republican" of four years before, was now a candidate for the highest office in the land, and was supported by those who had been eager to hang him in the early days of the war. The Republican party had split in factions; the so-called Liberal Republicans denounced what was termed the military rule of Grant, and asserted that the administration was grasping undue power and that it was putting in office men opposed to Republican principles, while those who had been loyal and of assistance in time of need were offensively excluded.

The National Convention of this branch of the party met at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872, under a call from the Liberal State Convention of Missouri. No delegates were sent, it having been called as a mass convention. Delegates, however, were chosen from the mass after arrival. Among the leading spirits of the convention were Carl Schurz and Joseph Pulitzer of Missouri, George W. Julian of Indiana, Frank W. Baird, Edward Atkinson of Massachusetts, Samuel Matthews of

1872

Split in
the Re-
publican
party

National
Conven-
tion of
Libera.
Repub-
licans

1872
May

Some of
the
leaders

Ohio, Colonel McClure of Pennsylvania, David Dudley Field, General John Cochran, Theodore Tilton, William Dorsheimer, and Waldo Hutchins, with many lesser lights of the party. Of the two last named, Dorsheimer two years later was elected lieutenant-governor of New York on the Democratic ticket with Samuel J. Tilden; Waldo Hutchins was the following year elected as a Democratic member of Congress.

Planks
of the
platform

Tariff
causes
dis-
cussion

The platform, in the main, was one on which the whole party could have easily agreed. It made the usual declarations and pledges, insisting upon the superiority of the civil over the military authorities, laying stress upon the abuse of the civil service, and declared that no President should be a candidate for reëlection. It denounced repudiation, opposed further land grants, and demanded a speedy return to specie payments. One question, however, gave rise to sharp controversy, and came near wrecking the work of the convention. This was a difference of opinion on the tariff. Many of the leaders in the convention were strong free-traders; while Greeley and many of his adherents were protectionists. After many speeches, a compromise was effected by remitting the subject to the people in their Congressional districts and to the decision of Congress.

There were several candidates in the convention. It seemed probable, in its earlier stages, that the choice would lie between Judge David Davis and Charles Francis Adams. The feeling between

the supporters of the two was very bitter, those of Mr. Adams declaring that if Davis should be nominated they would not sustain him. On the first ballot there were seven candidates: Adams, Greeley, Trumbull, Gratz Brown, Davis, Curtin, and Chase, the votes standing: Adams, 205; Greeley, 147; Trumbull, 110; Gratz Brown, 95; Davis, 92; Curtin, 62; Chase, 2. On the sixth ballot Greeley led, with Adams second; on the eighth, Greeley showed the required majority, and was declared by formal vote to be the nominee of the convention, with Gratz Brown in second place. Most of the Liberals acquiesced in the nomination, though some stoutly protested. But the cry was, “Anything to beat Grant!”

1872
May

Liberal
Repub-
licans
nominate
Horace
Greeley
for the
Presi-
dency

For this it was necessary that the candidates should be selected who, while representing the Liberal Republican policy, would be acceptable to their Democratic allies. The feeling on the part of the Democrats was one of chagrin and resentment. They had depended on the nomination of some moderate Republican whom they could adopt without repugnance, but this selection of one who had been their lifelong enemy completely upset their plans and put them to shame. The Democratic press of the North denounced the result, and declared that the support of the ticket would involve a stultification of party principles which could not be considered.

Demo-
crats dis-
gruntled
at result
of con-
vention

In New York the free-trade members of the Republican party held a meeting of protest presided over by William Cullen Bryant, which was

1872
June-
July

addressed by several of those who had participated in the Cincinnati convention. The Southern press, however, expressed satisfaction with the nomination. As time went on, it became evident that whatever view the party might take, it had no alternative but to accept Mr. Greeley.

Grant
renom-
inated

The regular Republican National Convention met at Philadelphia on the 5th of June. On the roll-call of the second day, General Grant was named for President without a dissenting voice. Henry Wilson of Massachusetts was elected for the second place on the ticket.

Demo-
crats
also
nominate
Greeley

On the 9th of July, the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, and on the second day the committee on resolutions adopted the Cincinnati platform without even a qualification. Mr. Greeley accepted the Democratic nomination, frankly acknowledging that the Democrats had expected and would have preferred a different nomination at Cincinnati, and that he recognized the fact that they accepted him only because the matter was beyond their control. It was impossible, however, for water and oil to mix, and in September the straight-out Democrats bolted that ticket, and, at a convention held in Louisville, nominated Charles O'Connor for President and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for Vice-President.

Bolters
put up
O'Connor

The campaign was bitterly contested, Mr. Greeley himself taking the field and making an extended tour through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, addressing great masses of people every

day and many times a day, presenting his case with ability. At the fall elections the majorities in favor of Grant were enormous. Greeley carried no Northern States and only six Southern States: Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. During the latter part of the canvass Mr. Greeley was summoned from his public work to the bedside of his dying wife, whom he buried the day before election. His defeat, coupled with his domestic affliction, completely undermined his physical strength, and before a month had passed away he too had gone to his rest.

1872

Grant's
great
majorityDeath of
Horace
Greeley

General Grant's Cabinet, as originally constructed, was with Elihu B. Washburn of Illinois, as Secretary of State; Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; E. Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts, Attorney-General; John A. J. Creswell of Maryland, Postmaster-General; Adolph E. Borie of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; Alexander T. Stewart of New York, Secretary of the Treasury. No new nomination was made for Secretary of War, General Schofield being left for the time undisturbed. It was discovered that under the law Mr. Stewart could not serve in the Cabinet, and Honorable George S. Boutwell was nominated and confirmed for the place. A week after the inauguration of the second term, Secretary Washburn sent in his resignation, to accept the position as minister to France, and was succeeded in the State Department by Hamilton Fish of New York. Immediately after, General Schofield retired from the War Department and was

Grant's
Cabinet

1872

Changes
in the
CabinetMore
numer-
ous than
in any
preceding
adminis-
tration

succeeded by General John A. Rollins of Illinois, who died in the following September, when General Sherman succeeded him as Secretary *ad interim* until the appointment of William W. Belknap in October. Mr. Borie resigned in June, and was succeeded by Mr. George M. Robeson. In 1870, Mr. Hoar resigned as Attorney-General, and in 1873 Mr. Boutwell resigned, to take the seat in the Senate made vacant by the election of Henry Wilson to the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Fish continued to serve in Grant's second administration as Secretary of State. William W. Belknap, as Secretary of War, was afterwards succeeded by Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, and Lot M. Morrill of Maine. Jacob D. Cox was named as Secretary of the Interior, and was followed later in the office by Columbus Delano and Zachariah Chandler. Mr. Hoar was succeeded in the Attorney-Generalship by Amos T. Akerman, whose service was brief. After him, during the remainder of the administration, were George H. Williams, Edwards Pierrepont, and Alphonso Taft. The changes in Grant's Cabinet were in the aggregate more numerous than in that of any of his predecessors.

Credit
Mobilier
scandal

During the Presidential campaign of 1872, charges of bribery were brought by the Democrats against certain members of Congress and high public officials, accusing them of having accepted presents of stock in the Credit Mobilier in exchange for political influence in favor of the Union Pacific. The Credit Mobilier was a corporation chartered

by the State of Pennsylvania, and reorganized in 1864 for the purpose of enabling the shareholders of the Union Pacific Railway and other persons connected with them to reap extraordinary profits. Originally, the company was organized for the purpose of facilitating the construction of public works. In 1867, its charter was purchased by a corporation which had undertaken to build the Pacific Railroad, and the capital was increased to \$3,750,000. Enormous dividends were paid to the stockholders. By accident it was discovered that much of the stock of the Credit Mobilier was owned by members of Congress. This discovery led to a Congressional investigation, in the course of which facts were brought out which seriously injured the reputation of a number of public men, who, up to that time, had been considered beyond reproach. This revelation caused the temporary stoppage of work on the Northern Pacific Railroad. Large subsidies had been granted by Congress for the construction of this great work, and more were expected; these, however, were made impossible by this scandal. The banking house of Jay Cooke had advanced large amounts to the company, taking for security the bonds of the road, believing that government assets would secure the success of the enterprise and bring the bonds to par. These bonds now became worthless. The result was inevitable. The house failed, bringing down with it a number of others and creating a general panic. The firm had been regarded as one of the soundest in the country, and had been

1864-72

Origin
and
purpose
of the
corpora-
tion

Investi-
gation
unfortu-
nate for
some
Con-
gressmen

Failure
of Jay
Cooke
causes
panic

1868-74

of great service to the government during the war in securing loans. It was months before confidence was sufficiently restored to enable business to resume its proper conditions.

Payment
of
national
obli-
gations
in coin

Congress
forced to
action

Passes
bill pro-
viding for
reform in
financial
matters

While these events were occurring, there were others of equal importance which occupied the attention of the people. In 1868, Congress had declared that the national obligations should be paid in coin or its equivalent, unless especially specified in the law authorizing the obligation. This doctrine was warmly opposed by the Democrats, and the campaign of 1872 was fought largely on that issue. The panic of 1873 resulted in such a period of depression that it became manifest to the Republican leaders that something must be done at once for the resumption of specie payment by bringing the national paper currency up to a coin value. In December, 1874, a bill was reported from the Finance Committee to the Senate for this purpose which provided for the redemption of fractional currency with silver coins to the value of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents as rapidly as those coins could be minted; abolished the charge of one-fifth of one per cent. on the coinage of gold, making its coinage free; repealed the law limiting the aggregate amount of the circulating notes of the National Banking Association and the law for the withdrawal of national bank currency from, and its redistribution among, the States and Territories; ordered the Secretary of the Treasury, in issuing new circulating notes to the National Banking Association, to retire United States legal

tender notes to the amount of eighty per cent. of such issues until the United States legal tender notes should be reduced to \$300,000,000; and, after January 1, 1897, to redeem these legal tender notes in coin on their presentation at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States in the city of New York in sums of not less than \$50, and, to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to do this, authorized him to use any unappropriated surplus revenue in the Treasury and to sell bonds issued under the act of July 14, 1870, in such amounts as might be found necessary. The bill passed January 14. Its effect was felt at once. The country at large had become distrustful of the financial legislation of Congress as evinced by the inflation bill of April, 1874, happily vetoed by the President, and feared even worse legislation in the way of fiat money if the Democratic party should come into power. It wanted a sound money administration with permanent laws to insure absolute and fixed revenues. This demand was soon to be satisfied.

The death of Charles Sumner, which occurred suddenly March 11, was preceded by that of ex-President Millard Fillmore, who died at his home in Buffalo only three days before. Mr. Sumner was at his desk in the Senate, Friday, March 6, and took active part in the proceedings. On Monday the Senate adjourned out of respect to the memory of Mr. Fillmore. On Tuesday Mr. Sumner was absent from his seat, and it was rumored that he was ill. The following afternoon his

1874

Redemp-
tion in
coin
specifiedGood
effects of
legisla-
tion at
once
apparentDeaths of
Sumner
and
Fillmore

1874-6

unexpected death was announced. Funeral services were held the following day in the Senate Chamber, and, on April 27, formal eulogies were pronounced upon the life and character of the dead statesman. Even his political opponents hastened to lay their tribute upon his bier.

Anniver-
sary of
American
inde-
pendence

Exposi-
tion at
Phila-
delphia
decided
upon

Congress
appealed
to for aid

The most notable civic event in Grant's administration was the celebration of the centennial of American independence by the great International Exposition at Philadelphia. Five years before, a number of patriotic citizens—among them the Honorable John Bigelow, ex-minister to France; Morton McMichael, mayor of Philadelphia, and General Charles B. Norton, who had been commissioner of the United States at the French Exposition in 1867—had determined upon the general plan of the affair, the place where it should be held, and the time of its duration. It was to be known as "The International Exposition of Arts and Industries," and was to be held at Philadelphia from the 19th of April to the 19th of October, 1876. In the spring of 1871, the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a resolution asking the aid of Congress in behalf of the proposed celebration. This was favorably received, and on March 3, 1871, a bill was passed by the House of Representatives providing for a Centennial Commission consisting of one member and one alternate from each State and Territory, to be appointed by the President; that the board should have the entire management and responsibility of the enterprise; that it should receive no compensation; that the government

should not be liable for any of the expenses of the Exposition; and that the President of the United States, after the erection of suitable buildings, should make proclamation of that fact to the people of the United States and to all foreign nations.

1872-6

A permanent organization was effected in 1872 by the election of General Joseph R. Hawley of Connecticut as president, and seven vice-presidents. Alfred T. Goshorn was made director-general. A Centennial Board of Finance was organized, which was authorized to issue stock in shares of ten dollars each, the whole number of shares not to exceed one million. The Board was also authorized to issue a series of centennial memorial medals which should be struck at the mint of the United States, the sales of which should be devoted to payment of the expenses of the Exposition. It was estimated by the Board that the entire expense of the Exposition would not exceed \$8,500,000. Of this sum, \$2,500,000 was raised by the sale of stock. The Legislature of Pennsylvania appropriated \$1,000,000, and the city of Philadelphia, \$1,500,000. New York gave \$250,000; the State of New Jersey, \$100,000; New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Delaware, \$10,000 each. The Empire of Japan contributed \$600,000, and the legislatures of various States made appropriations ranging from \$5,000 to \$50,000 for the purpose of erecting State buildings on the Exposition grounds. At last, after having twice refused financial help, Congress made an appropriation of

Organi-
zation
effectedCenten-
nial
memorial
medalsAppro-
priations
to the en-
terprise

1871-3 \$1,500,000 to supply the deficit which was still reported by the Board of Finance.

Fair-
mount
Park the
chosen
location

Presi-
dent's
procla-
mation

General
partici-
pation
promised

In the act, already referred to, of March 3, 1871, it was decided by Congress, in conformity with the suggestions of the committee, that the Exposition should be held in Philadelphia. The authorities of that city at once offered the free use of Fairmount Park. A formal transfer of the grounds to the Centennial Commission was made on the 4th of July, 1873, with proper ceremonies. The following day, a copy of the President's proclamation was transmitted to each of the foreign ministers resident at Washington, accompanied by a communication from the Secretary of State informing the ministers that the proposed display was intended as an International Exposition of arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and man; that the special design of the Exposition was to commemorate the declaration of the independence of the United States, and to furnish to all nations an opportunity for mutual improvement and of higher culture in beholding the product of each other's civilization; that the President hoped that all the diplomatic representatives of foreign nations would bring the Exposition and its objects to the attention of the people of their respective countries. Before the 4th of March, 1874, over forty of the world's governments had signified their intention of taking part in the Exposition.

The day of opening was fixed for the 10th of May, on which date more than 200,000 persons thronged the buildings and grounds. A military

escort 4000 strong accompanied the President of the United States from the station to the grounds, where a platform had been prepared between the main building and Memorial Hall for the inauguration ceremonies. Upon this were assembled the members of the Supreme Court of the United States, members of the Cabinet and of Congress, the governors of nearly all of the States, distinguished officers of the army and navy, diplomats and ministers from foreign countries, the King and Queen of Brazil, and distinguished visitors from every quarter of the globe. The music in attendance was Theodore Thomas' orchestra, which performed the national airs of the various countries which took part in the Exposition. On the arrival of the President, Wagner's celebrated "Centennial Inauguration March," composed for the occasion, was played. After a prayer by Bishop Simpson, John G. Whittier's "Centennial Hymn" was sung. Following, the Honorable John Welsh of the Board of Finance made a formal presentation of the buildings and grounds to General Hawley, president of the Centennial Commission. Then followed the singing of Sidney Lanier's "Centennial Cantata," after which General Hawley briefly recounted what had been accomplished by the Centennial Commission and introduced the President of the United States. President Grant responded in a brief address, closing with the words, "I declare the International Exposition now open." With these words the national flag was flung out as a signal from the flag-staff of the main

1873
May 10

Auspicious beginning of the Exposition

Marked by presence of many dignitaries

And imposing ceremonies

President Grant declares Exposition opened

1876 building. The banners of foreign nations were immediately unfurled, and a salute of a hundred guns was fired.

Attend-
ance and
receipts

The grounds were open for 158 days, the whole number of visitors during that time, as shown by the registry of the gates, being 9,786,151, and the total receipts for admission being \$3,761,598. The exhibition was formally closed on the 10th of November with impressive ceremonies. As on the day of opening, Thomas' orchestra furnished the music for the occasion. Over a hundred thousand people were present, and addresses were made by various officials. Larger expositions with more extensive displays have been made since the Centennial Exposition of 1876, but none more striking, more dignified, or more impressive.

Impres-
sive close
of the
Centen-
nial

Intro-
duction
of the
tele-
phone

Success-
ful
trans-
mission
of
messages

At this Exhibition, Professor Alexander Graham Bell, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, gave the first public exhibition of the workings of the telephone. A long series of private experiments had preceded it, however. The first outdoor experiment was made over a wire stretching from the editorial room of the Boston *Transcript*, across Milk street to the Old South Meeting-house. It was not entirely successful on account of the imperfect conditions under which it was made. A few days subsequently, at a lecture in Music Hall, it succeeded so well that Professor Bell arranged for a wire between Boston and Salem, over which, at an evening lecture, messages were sent and received. At first it was considered by most people as a scientific toy, but others, more

astute, recognized its possibilities, and by early investments laid the foundations of immense fortunes.

1876

For several years previous to this invention, other ingenious minds had been busy with the same problem. In the same year, and only a few days later in the same month, Elisha Gray of Chicago succeeded in sending messages between that city and Milwaukee, a distance of eighty-five miles. The same results were reached by Thomas A. Edison a little later, and by Professor Amos E. Dolbear of Tufts College, Massachusetts. It was claimed that Professor Bell had made surreptitious use of results achieved by the investigations of Professor Dolbear, and in the litigation which followed the testimony seemed to warrant that belief. The courts, however, decided in favor of Bell. About this time the system of electric lighting was introduced, and is now in universal use.

Disputed
claims to
honor of
invention

Introduc-
tion of
electric
lighting .

At the closing session of the forty-first Congress, in the spring of 1871, Congress passed an act providing a government for the District of Columbia, repealing the charters of the cities of Washington and Georgetown, abolishing the court system, and creating a form of government entirely different from that which had until then existed. Under the new system a governor was appointed with a legislative assembly composed of a Council and a House of Delegates, the former to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and the members of the House of Delegates were to be elected by the people. Territorial

Govern-
ment
provided
for the
District
of
Columbia

1871-4 powers were conferred upon the government of the District.

Condi-
tion of
washing-
ton in
1871

Transfor-
mation
wrought
by
Governor
Shepherd

Change
in gov-
ernment
of the
District

The first governor appointed was Alexander R. Shepherd, a native of the District, a business man of energy and character and a personal friend of General Grant. At that time the city was in a deplorable condition as regarded its streets, its pavements, its system of lighting, and its hygienic conditions. In three years it was transformed into one of the cleanest and most beautiful cities in the country. Governor Shepherd saw at once what was required. He recognized the fact that the expenses would be enormous, but he saw the possibilities; he knew he would be charged with recklessness and extravagance, but he determined to take advantage of his position and make the city what it should be, leaving the expense for future consideration. He set himself at once to the laying out, widening, and improving the streets and sidewalks, planted trees, planned parks and circles, and gave a dignity to the city it had never before enjoyed. At the end of three years the District found itself in debt to the amount of several millions, for which the inhabitants were heavily taxed. Charges of extravagance and corruption were brought against Shepherd, but no proof was found that he had reaped a dollar of personal benefit. Nevertheless, the agitation was such that the system of District government was repealed, and three commissioners were appointed instead for the administration of its affairs, a system which still exists.

For more than three-quarters of a century the question of the fisheries had been in dispute between Great Britain and the United States, and there has hardly been an administration in that time when it has not been the subject of heated controversy. It has seemed impossible for the two governments to come to any satisfactory decision on the subject, which remains, even to-day, a source of constant irritation. A reciprocity treaty was made in 1854, under which temporary adjustment was effected. In 1871, trouble was postponed by the treaty of Washington. Before the Revolution the people of the colonies, as British subjects, used all the British fisheries in what is now the Dominion of Canada and the Island of Newfoundland. In the treaty made by the two governments in 1783, it was provided that the privilege should continue to be enjoyed as before. After the second war with Great Britain in 1812, at the second treaty of peace made in 1814, the British government claimed that it took the place of all former treaties and that the fishery rights had expired. This was not admitted by the United States government. No agreement could be made, and the result was that the treaty was signed and ratified without any provisions regarding the fisheries. This left the United States in the full exercise of its rights under the treaty of 1783.

In 1818, at the time when the State Department was under the direction of John Quincy Adams, a treaty was concluded with the British government in which some of the most valuable rights in

1871

Fisheries
constant
source of
troubleStatus of
affairs at
time of
RevolutionFailure
to agree
upon
treaty

1818-76

Fresh
complica-
tions
ariseTreaty of
1854 ter-
minated
by this
countryNegotia-
tions
resulting
in
appoint-
ment of
Fisheries
Com-
mission

the fisheries were surrendered, the United States renouncing forever "any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, or cure fish on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks, or harbors of his Britannic Majesty's domains in America not included within the limits so described." The provisions of this treaty complicated matters and increased the opportunities for friction. Disputes constantly occurred as to the three-mile line, and the British government sent armed vessels to patrol the waters. American fishing vessels were seized and condemned under peculiarly irritating circumstances, and on several occasions war was threatened. The right in the fisheries conceded by the treaty of 1854, commonly known as the "reciprocity treaty," was made to continue for ten years with the right of termination upon a year's notice by either party. In 1866, the treaty was terminated upon notice given by the United States.

The British government strongly desired its renewal, and a special commissioner was sent to Washington to aid the British Legation in securing it. A treaty of reciprocity was finally agreed upon between Secretary Fish and Sir Edward Thornton, and duly transmitted to the Senate for its approval. It was rejected by that body February 3, 1875, and the two governments were left to renew the arrangements for the Fishery Commission which by agreement had not been affected by the postponement of the negotiations for reciprocity. Delay after delay followed, and it was not until

the winter of 1876 that a commission was appointed.

1877

It met at Halifax, Nova Scotia, the following summer. The contention of the United States government was that the commission was charged with the decision of no political or diplomatic questions; that all such questions had been determined by the high contracting diplomats, and that this commission was simply a reference for an accounting in a given department of trade. They contended that the value of the inshore fisheries were simply their value as mackerel fisheries; that to estimate one-fourth of the whole mackerel catch as taken by the American fisheries was a liberal concession on the part of the United States, and that the remission of duty on colonial fish and fish oil which was admitted to be worth \$350,000 per annum to Canada, was an ample equivalent.

Position
of the
United
States

On the British side the concessions made to the United States were dwelt upon at great length. It was declared that the chief resources and varieties lay within the three-mile limit; that under the treaty thousands of miles of coast were thrown open to Americans. One member of the commission, Mr. Delfosse, had been strongly objected to by Mr. Fish; the secretary declaring that "while entertaining a high personal regard for the character and abilities of the Belgian minister to this country, there are reasons in the political relations between his government and that of Great Britain why the representative of the former could not be regarded as an independent and indifferent

Contention
of
Great
Britain

Objection
to Mr.
Delfosse

1877-8

arbitrator on questions between the government of her Majesty and that of the United States."

No agree-
ment
possible

Mr. Delfosse had already been objected to as a member of the Joint High Commission for this same reason. The British government insisted, however, and Mr. Delfosse was made a member of the Fish Commission. After all the evidence was heard, it was found that the differences of opinion between the British and United States commissioners were irreconcilable. The decision, therefore, was left to Mr. Delfosse, as had been anticipated, and as had been no doubt planned, by the British Minister of State. On the 23d of November, Mr. Delfosse reported that he estimated the superior advantage of the privilege of the inshore colonial fisheries over such as were given to British subjects in American waters at \$5,500,000 for their twelve years' use.

Del-
fosse's
decision
averse to
American
interests

The award created a great deal of indignation throughout the United States, and was denounced by the press without regard to party. On the 17th of May, 1878, President Hayes recommended the appropriation of the necessary sum "with such discretion in the executive government in regard to the payment as, in the wisdom of Congress, the public interests may seem to require." The matter was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which made an elaborate report, accompanied with a bill appropriating money for the payment of the award. The report reviewed the entire history of the proceedings before the commission, and showed that the decision was given

Congress
provides
for
payment
of award

in defiance of the rules laid down before the meeting of the commission which declared that "on every point that comes before the Fishery Commission for decision, unanimous consent of all its members is, by the terms of the treaty, necessary before an authoritative verdict can be given."

1878

It closed by saying: "However much we may regard the award made at Halifax as excessively exorbitant, and possibly beyond the legal and proper power making it, your committee would not recommend that the government of the United States disregard it if the government of her Britannic Majesty, after a full review of all the facts and circumstances of the case, shall conclude to declare the award to be lawfully and honorably due." Mr. Edmunds, in the Senate, offered an amendment to the report declaring that "Articles 18 and 21 of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain concluded on the 8th of May, 1871, remitting the duties on fish and fish oil, are to be terminated at the earliest period consistent with the provisions of the same treaty, providing that the remission should be for ten years."

Report of
Commit-
tee on
Foreign
Rela-
tions

Amend-
ment
adopted

This amendment was adopted by a large majority. The Secretary of State, Mr. William M. Evarts, on the 27th of September made an elaborate presentation of the whole matter in a dispatch to the British Minister of State. He expressed his opinion that considerations, foreign to the questions submitted, had been brought before the commission. He called to the attention of Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Secretary, that five

Present-
ment of
matter to
British
minister

1875

Giving
loss on
part of
the
United
States

fishing seasons under the treaty had elapsed before the Halifax commission was organized, and that actual statistics had been prepared showing the real value of the privileges conceded to the United States, and which proved that during these seasons of the fishery privilege only \$25,000 a year of net profit, or \$300,000 after the whole twelve years, had been realized. In the mean time, duties amounting to \$4,200,000 had been remitted to Canada on fish and fish oil, making the total loss to the United States, under the Delfosse decision, to be \$9,400,000. Lord Salisbury, in his reply, did not attempt to refute the arguments of Secretary Evarts, but based his case simply on the ground that the award gave \$5,500,000 to England, and that ended it. No rejoinder was made, and the money was paid on the day it was due.

Salis-
bury
firm, and
award is
paid

Colorado
becomes
a State

In 1875, the Territory of Colorado was authorized by Congress to form a State constitution. In the following year, this constitution was ratified by a vote of the people, and the State took her place in the Union. At this time it contained a population of 42,000 souls. Up to the time of the admission of the State its entire yield of gold amounted to over \$70,000,000.

Death of
several
noted
men

On the 22d of November of this year, Vice-President Henry Wilson died from a stroke of paralysis. In the half-dozen years previous, several of the most distinguished men in the country had fallen by the hand of death. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War under Lincoln, died in December, 1869. General Robert E. Lee died

in 1870, and in the same year General George H. Thomas and Admiral Farragut passed away. In 1872, William H. Seward, Professor Morse, Horace Greeley, and General Meade were added to the death-list, and in May, 1873, Chief Justice Chase died from a stroke of paralysis in the city of New York, and hardly a year later Charles Sumner died at Washington.

1879

Seward,
Chase,
and
others,
pass
away

One of the greatest engineering achievements ever accomplished in this country was the clearing away, in 1879, of the mud beds at the mouth of the Mississippi, which had always been a serious obstacle to river commerce. The river brings down in its long course immense quantities of mud, which are deposited at its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico, filling up the channel and preventing the passage of heavy ships. Millions were expended both by the national and State governments for the removal of these beds and the deepening of the channel. The results were only temporary, however. In 1874, Captain James B. Eads, a civil engineer, who built the great bridge spanning the river at St. Louis, proposed a plan to the government altogether different from those which had already been attempted. He had noticed that wherever the river was narrow, the current was swiftest and the channel deepest. It was his belief, therefore, that by making the river narrower at the mouth, a deeper and swifter current would be secured, which, by its natural force, would free the channel from these deposits. He proposed to utilize what is called the jetty system, which had been

Mud in
the Mis-
sissippi
obstructs
com-
merce

Eads'
plan to
deepen
the
channel

1875-7

Success
attends
attempt

used in Europe to attain the same results for more than a century. The plan was strongly opposed in Congress, but it also found supporters, and in 1875 he was allowed to make a trial of his plan on the smallest of the three mouths of the river. Four years were allowed to carry out his task. In that time the work was completed, the channel made deep enough to float the heaviest steamships from the mouth of the river to New Orleans. The result was an immediate and enormous increase in the river commerce.

Trouble
with the
Nez
PercésCause of
an out-
break by
the
Indians

In the summer of 1877, war broke out with the Nez Percé Indians in Idaho. This was once a powerful tribe, and occasioned trouble to the government as long ago as 1806. In that year a treaty was made with them by the explorers Lewis and Clark. Missionary stations were afterwards established among them, and they remained on friendly terms until after the Mexican War. In 1854, the government purchased a portion of their territory, large reservations being made for them in north-western Idaho and northeastern Oregon. This purchase occasioned strong disaffection. Some of the chiefs refused to ratify it, and, instead of removing to the reservations, remained in what they declared to be their own territory. An attempt to force them upon the reservations was the signal for active hostilities.

Several hundred of them went on the war-path, and a campaign of murder and destruction of property among the settlers began. General O. O. Howard, who was in command of the Department



CHIEF JOSEPH, NEZ PERCE.

of the Columbia, was sent against them with a small force of cavalry, but the Indians, led by their noted chief, Joseph, scattered and avoided battle. During the greater part of the summer the pursuit continued, but the Indians could not be overtaken. They took refuge at last in the mountains of northern Montana. Here they were confronted by a body of troops under Colonel Miles. Hemmed in, and not strong enough to offer opposition to the government troops, they crossed the Missouri River, and, believing themselves safe, went into camp north of the Bear Paw Mountains. Here they were attacked on the 4th of October by the forces of Colonel Miles, and, after a hard battle, were completely routed. Only a few of the Indians, led by the chief White Bird, escaped; all the rest were either killed or made prisoners. Of the captives, 375 were brought to the American post on the Missouri. During the campaign the troops of General Howard had made forced marches through a difficult and mountainous country for a distance of 1600 miles. This crushing defeat of the Indians ended hostilities, and there was never afterwards a resumption of the trouble.

On the 17th of May of this year, General Grant, with a party consisting of his family and several personal friends, sailed from Philadelphia to make a tour of the world. In every country visited, the President was received with honors never before accorded to any but a royal personage. He visited England, Belgium, Switzerland, Prussia, France,

1877

Maraud-
ing
Indians
pursuedRouted
by MilesAnd
peace
secured•Grant's
two-
years'
trip
abroad

1880-1

Italy, Palestine, Greece, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Austria, and Russia. Nearly two years were spent in visiting the countries named, and in June, 1879, the party sailed from Marseilles to the great countries of Asia, visiting first the cities of India and afterwards Siam, China, and Japan, returning in the autumn of that year to San Francisco.

National
census
shows
large
gain in
popula-
tion

In 1880, the census report showed an increase in population of more than 11,500,000 since the report of 1870. It showed New York to be the leading State, with a population of 5,083,000, with Nevada as the least populous, showing an enumeration of but 62,000. Of this number, 2,246,000 had been contributed by immigration, nearly a million coming from Germany alone. Of the cities showing the largest per cent. of increase, Chicago took the leading place with 72 per cent., and New Orleans the smallest, with 13 per cent.

Problem
of the
national
debt

The closing session of the forty-sixth Congress, which expired the 4th of March, 1881, was largely occupied with the discussion of the various methods proposed for refunding the national debt. In that year, \$750,000,000 of 5 and 6 per cent. bonds became due, and it was necessary to provide for payment or refunding. A bill was introduced in the House providing for the issuance by the government of new bonds of two classes, both bearing 3 per cent. interest, the first class payable in from five to twenty years and the second class in from one to ten years. The latter bonds were to be issued in small denominations adapted to the conditions of a popular loan. One provision

Proposed
issue of
lower
interest-
bearing
bonds

of the bill required the national banks holding 5 and 6 per cent. bonds to surrender the same and to receive instead the new 3 per cents. This clause of the law aroused the indignation of the banks, and by every possible means they sought to prevent the passage of the bill. The measure passed the House and Senate and was laid before the President for his approval, but was returned to Congress with his veto, the bill consequently failing to become a law.

1876

Though
passed by
Con-
gress,
bill is
vetoed

The Presidential campaign of 1876 was fought out under conditions radically different from any which had before existed since the formation of the Republican party. The two great parties were now about evenly balanced. Old issues had been disposed of, and new ones had come up which had caused many defections in the Republican party. The elections in some of the States, before strongly Republican, had gone Democratic in 1874. The campaign was now to be a trial of strength in which both sides were equally determined to win. The strongest candidate for nomination on the Republican side was Senator Morton of Indiana, whose ability and party devotion seemed to entitle him to the first choice. There were others, however, whose ability and service in the affairs of the nation caused them to be seriously considered: Roscoe B. Conkling of New York; Benjamin H. Bristow of Kentucky, ex-Secretary of Treasury; Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio; John F. Hartranft, governor of Pennsylvania, and James G. Blaine, Senator from Maine.

Parties
lining up
for a
great
struggle

Republi-
can Pres-
idential
timber

1876
June

Hayes
nomina-
ted at
Cincin-
nati

Financial
plank the
prom-
inent one
in plat-
form

The Republican National Convention met at Cincinnati, June 14. On the first ballot Blaine received 285 votes; Morton, 124; Conkling, 99, and Hayes, 61. The second ballot showed an increase of 11 for Blaine and on the fifth he received 308. On the seventh, other candidates were withdrawn and it became a contest between Hayes and Blaine. When the vote was announced it stood: Hayes, 384; Blaine, 351; Bristow, 21. These last immediately went over to Hayes,¹ who was thereupon announced the nominee of the party; William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated for the second place on the ticket by acclamation. The platform adopted by the convention was constructed so as to make the financial issue the most prominent. It pledged the party to uphold the public credit and to place the currency of the country on a coin basis. The pacification of the South was declared to be a sacred duty, and also a thorough reform of the civil service.

Two weeks later the Democratic leaders held a convention at St. Louis, and nominated Samuel

¹Rutherford Birchard Hayes, nineteenth President of the United States, was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He was educated in the public school, and at fifteen years of age became a student at a preparatory school at Middletown, Connecticut. In 1838, he entered Kenyon College, Ohio, and in 1842 graduated with the highest honors of his class. In 1845, he entered the law school at Harvard, and after graduation began the practice of his profession, first at Marietta, and afterwards in Cincinnati. He entered the army at the beginning of the war, and rose to the rank of major-general. In 1864, while still in active service, he was elected to Congress, and resigned from the army to take his place in the House. He served as governor of Ohio in 1867, 1869, and 1875, and was serving in that capacity when he was nominated by the Republican party for President of the United States.

J. Tilden¹ of New York for President and Thomas A. Hendricks for the Vice-Presidency. The platform adopted called for reform, for the reduction of duties on foreign imports to a revenue basis, and for the repeal of the Resumption act of 1875. The candidates were wisely chosen, and the campaign was judiciously conducted. A great many Republicans who had become dissatisfied with the radical leaders of their party helped to swell the Democratic vote, and so close was the contest that before the vote was declared on the day of election, the leading Republican newspapers conceded a Democratic victory. The final count of the electoral vote under the law had to be conducted in the presence of the two Houses of Congress assembled in one place. The Democrats were in a majority in the lower House, and the twenty-second joint rule ordered that the electoral vote of any State might be thrown out by either House. If this rule were recognized and applied in the impending count, the Democratic House would have the power to reject the returns of the Republican authorities

1876

Demo-
cratic
nominees
and
platformClosely
fought
contestAdvan-
tage of
the Dem-
ocrats

¹Samuel Jones Tilden was born at New Lebanon, New York, March 15, 1814. For more than forty years he was a prominent figure in his native State, and held many places of public trust and honor. In 1870-71 he was among the foremost in unearthing the astounding frauds and robberies which had been perpetrated on the city of New York, and in the following year was sent to the general assembly, where his services were invaluable. In 1874, he was elected governor of New York by a majority of more than 50,000 votes. In the executive office he was one of the ablest and most thoroughgoing who ever occupied the gubernatorial chair of the State. After his candidacy for the Presidency he retired to private life, but continued to guide the counsels of his party and influence public opinion up to the date of his death. He died at his residence, Greystone on the Hudson, August 4, 1886.

1876-7

in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, and thus the election of Tilden would be secured. There was doubt about the validity of this rule, as it had not been reënacted by the Houses composing it. It was on this ground repudiated by the Republicans.

Creation
of the
famous
Electoral
Com-
mission

The Democrats now introduced a measure in the House for the appointment of a joint committee which should report a proposition for counting the electoral votes. To this the Senate agreed. Three Republicans and four Democrats were appointed by the House, and four Republicans and three Democrats by the Senate, and, on the 18th of January, 1877, they reported the famous Electoral Commission bill. This bill provided for the creation of a commission consisting of five members of the House of Representatives, five members of the Senate, and five justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. It provided also that the electoral vote of any State from which only a single return had been received should be counted unless both Houses decided otherwise, and that when more than one return had been received from any State, the commission should decide which return should be counted, and this return should be counted unless both Houses should reject the decision or order otherwise. It also declared the reservation of any right existing under the Constitution and laws to question before the courts of the United States the title of the persons who should be declared elected President and Vice-President to these respective offices. The

Pro-
visions
for
guidance
of the
com-
mission

bill was thoroughly discussed in both Houses for five days, when it passed the Senate by a vote of 47 to 17, and the House by a vote of 191 to 86.

1877

The members of the Senate chosen were Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, and Morton, Republicans; and Bayard and Thurman, Democrats; while those selected by the House were Garfield and Hoar, Republicans, and Abbott, Hunton, and Payne, Democrats; the justices of the Supreme Court selected as members of the commission were Judges Clifford, Strong, Miller, and Field,—two Republicans and two Democrats. These four selected Joseph P. Bradley as the fifth judicial member of the commission. Bradley was a Republican, and was regarded as the least partisan and most learned in the law of those remaining to choose from.

Make-up
of the
com-
mission

On the 1st day of February, Congress and the commission met to count the electoral vote. When the returns were opened by the President of the Senate, two sets of returns were found from each of the four States, Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Oregon. In the first three of these States the electors voting for Hayes and Wheeler sent with their vote a certification of the State canvassing board and of the governor to their election. In Oregon, the three Republican electors received the highest number of votes as reported by the Secretary of State, who by the laws of Oregon was the State canvassing officer, but one of them, at the time of his election, held the office of postmaster, and the Constitution of the

Counting
the
electoral
vote

Four
States
furnish
two
sets of
returns

1877
Feb.

The
tangle in
Oregon

United States provides that no person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector. The governor of Oregon, who was a Democrat, decided that this elector was not eligible, and when he made out his certification he included, besides the two Republican electors who were eligible, a Democrat named Cronin, although the number received by him was a minority of all the votes cast for the electoral tickets. This certificate, endorsed by the Secretary of State, was given to Cronin. The two Republican electors refused to act with him, and he refused to let them have the certificate to attach to their returns unless they should so act. Cronin then selected two men named Miller and Parker to fill up the electoral college of Oregon, and these three cast two votes for Hayes and Wheeler and one for Tilden and Hendricks. They then attached the governor's certificate to the record of their vote, and sent it to the President of the Senate.

Action of
Republican
electors

At the same time the two Republican electors, Odell and Cartwright, met and cast the electoral vote of the commonwealth. Watts, who had been disqualified on account of his holding office, had, in the mean time, resigned his position. His resignation had been accepted, and he was now re-chosen. The three then cast the electoral vote of the State for Hayes and Wheeler, although they did not have a certification of their election by the governor, as required by law. They procured from the Secretary of State, however, a certified copy of the canvass of the votes for the electors,

which showed the election of the three Republican candidates, and sent this, and also a copy of their proceedings, along with their report of the vote of electors, to the President of the Senate.

1877
Feb.

The contest in the electoral commission was one of extreme bitterness and verged upon violence. The Republicans took their stand upon the principle that Congress could not go behind the returns of the State canvassing board or officer in counting the electoral vote from any State; that the Constitution assigned the election to the control of the States exclusively, and the counting of the votes to the control of Congress exclusively, and that Congress had no power whatever to revise, interfere with or examine into that part assigned by the Constitution to the States respectively; and, on the other hand, that Congress was bound to disregard any act of the States, its officers or agents in that part assigned by the Constitution to its own control. This view prevailed with the commission, and by a majority of one, in a strictly party vote, it gave all the electoral votes of the four States from which double returns had been received, to Hayes and Wheeler. It was a hard thing for the Democrats to come so near gaining a victory and lose it. Threats were made by some of the more hot-headed to have Mr. Tilden take the oath of office, and conduct him with an armed force to the White House and install him there. In spite of the great disappointment, not one of the Southern Democrats shared in this attitude, and Mr. Tilden himself declared against it. The

Ground
taken by
Repub-
licans in
electoral
college

The
historic
"8 to 7"
decision

Despite
threats,
result ac-
quiesced
in

1877
March
Hayes
and
Wheeler
declared
elected

count was completed on the morning of March 2, when Hayes and Wheeler were proclaimed by the presiding officer of the Senate President and Vice-President of the United States by a majority of one electoral vote. The popular vote for the electors was about 8,300,000; of these, the Tilden electors had a majority of about 250,000.

CHAPTER CXIV.

THE NEW REPUBLICANS

The President and Vice-President were inaugurated on the 5th day of March, 1877, without any attempt at resistance or disturbance. In President Hayes' inaugural address he announced that he considered the reëstablishment of local self-government in the Southern States to be one of the prime objects of his administration, and promptly withdrew the military power of the United States from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, leaving them to work out their own salvation. White rule was soon established in all the States of the South, and order, comparatively speaking, was soon restored.

In entering upon the duties of his office, President Hayes appointed his Cabinet as follows: For Secretary of State, William M. Evarts of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman of Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. McCrary of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, Richard W. Thompson of Indiana; Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz of Missouri; Attorney-General, Charles C. Davis of Massachusetts; and for Postmaster-General, David M. Key of Tennessee.

In the first year of Hayes' administration, the transportation system of the whole country was

1877

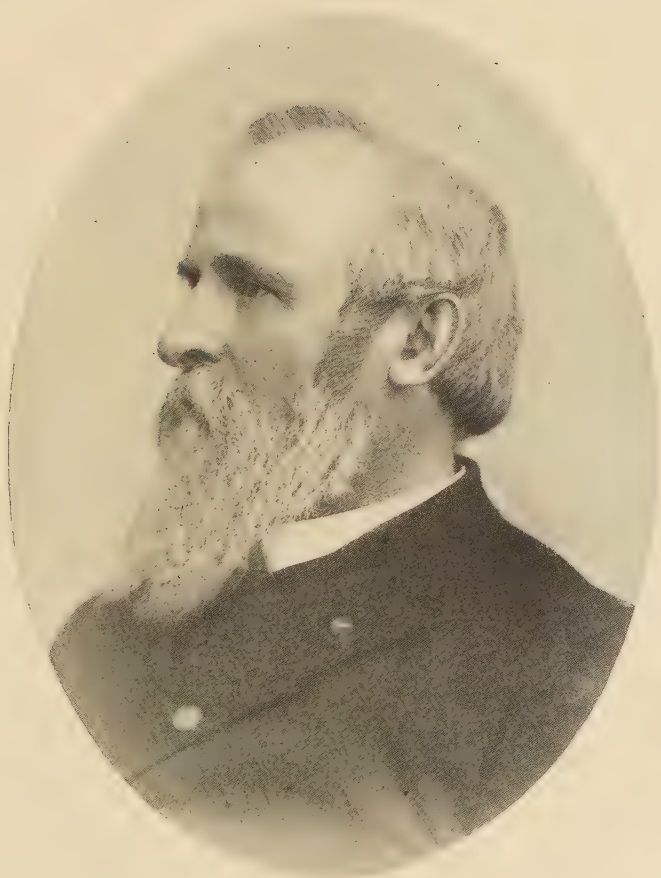
The new
Presi-
dent's in-
augural

Hayes'
Cabinet

1877

A great
railroad
strikeConflict
with the
militiaRioting
and de-
struction
of prop-
erty in
Pittsburg

disturbed by what is known as the great railroad strike. In the spring of that year the managers of the great railroads of the Middle States and the West declared a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of their workmen. This was forcibly resisted, and after vain attempts at a compromise, the workmen on the various roads combined, and, on the 16th of July, the first overt act was committed by the employees of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, who left their posts and attempted to prevent the running of trains. The principal centres of trouble were at Martinsburg, West Virginia, and at Baltimore. At the former place the militia was called out, but was driven away by the strikers. On the 20th, serious disturbances occurred at Baltimore, in which the troops were called out and were obliged to fire upon the rioters, of whom nine were killed and a large number wounded. Instead of putting a stop to the troubles, this increased them. The strike became universal. In a week's time the trains had been stopped on all the transcontinental roads. Travel was at a standstill, and long lines of cars loaded with perishable freight were sidetracked. The most serious troubles occurred in Pittsburg, where the strikers were joined by all sorts of unemployed workmen, together with the dangerous classes, making a mob of more than 20,000, which for two days held the city in a state of terror. The great Union Station, the machine-shops, and all the railroad buildings of the city were burned; 125 locomotives with 2500 loaded freight cars were destroyed, the total losses



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

exceeding \$3,000,000. It was only when the militia was called out, with a support of regular troops, that the riot was finally suppressed. Nearly a hundred lives were lost and hundreds were injured on both sides. A week later a similar riot occurred at Chicago, in which fifteen of the rioters were killed by the military. At the same time, St. Louis was in the hands of the mob for several hours. More or less rioting also took place in Cincinnati, Columbus, Louisville, and Indianapolis. During the three weeks the strike was on, over \$10,000,000 worth of property was destroyed without the strikers gaining their demands.

1877-8

Strike
troubles
in
Western
cities

In 1878 occurred the great yellow fever epidemic, the most terrible scourge which ever visited the country. It was largely confined to the Gulf States. Its first appearance was in New Orleans in the latter part of May. From thence it spread rapidly to other towns along the Mississippi River. Previous to that time the towns and cities of that region had paid but little attention to sanitary matters, and everywhere the conditions were ripe for the spread of the epidemic. There was a reign of terror throughout the South, and a wholesale exodus took place from many of the towns and cities, people flying to the country and distant places from the pestilence. In the lower Mississippi Valley people died by thousands. Medical treatment had little effect, and all summer long the epidemic raged. Hundreds of nurses were sent from the North, and money was poured out without stint to relieve the suffering. It was not

Dire visi-
tation of
"Yellow
Jack"The
South
ravaged

1879 until late in the autumn, when cold weather set in, that the pestilence abated. More than 20,000 people perished from this cause alone in five months' time.

The civil service reform From the time of the report of a Civil Service bill in Johnson's administration, there had been spasmodic efforts at the different sessions of Congress at reform legislation in that direction. The views on reform that President Hayes expressed in his letter of acceptance and in his inaugural address gave rise to the hope that the discarded experiment would be revived under his administration, but this hope was not realized. Secretary Carl Schurz reëstablished the civil service rules in the Interior Department, and enforced them thoroughly, but the example was not followed by the other departments, and the enforcement of the rules in that one department resulted in Secretary Schurz's retirement from it. On March 6, 1879, the civil service rules of 1872 were revived in the Subtreasury and in the various branches of the custom-house in New York. On April 23, in the same year, similar rules were, by the President's direction, transmitted to the other chief custom-houses and post-offices, but they were not systematically or generally enforced. A little later a similar system of competition for both admission and promotion was applied to the post-office in New York, where a very efficient system of pass examinations had been enforced ever since the appointment of Thomas L. James as postmaster in 1873. These rules were carried out with

Schurz enforces the rules

Application in other places

1879

fidelity and intelligence in both the custom-house and the post-office, until superseded by the more comprehensive system established by the act of 1883.

But the attempt at reform at Washington had very different results. Members of Congress who had bought their way into that body by securing places for their supporters stoutly opposed any change which would deprive them of the privilege of dispensing patronage. The President, who had determined to establish the policy of selecting officials on the basis of merit alone, was swept off his feet at the very outset by the torrent of office-seekers which poured in and over him. Congress refused to come to his aid, and after a brief period of ineffectual resistance he gave way and the reform was temporarily checked.

The President
un-
sup-
ported by
Congress

Before this, however, he had accomplished something. He suspended from office in the New York custom-house, Chester A. Arthur, afterwards President of the United States, and Alonzo B. Cornell, two of the most prominent men in the party, his reason being that they did not conform to his order forbidding political activity. He said: "Their offices have been conducted as part of the political machinery under their control." Almost immediately after his accession to office, he issued an order that no officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote or to express their views on public questions, either orally or through

Sus-
pends
Arthur
and
Cornell

1879-80

The President's
order

the press, was not denied, provided it did not interfere with the discharge of their official duties. Any assessment for political purposes on officers or subordinates was strictly forbidden. This rule was made applicable to every department of the civil service. It was for disobedience to these instructions that these removals were made.

Troubles
in South
Carolina
and Louisiana

At that time there were violent dissensions in South Carolina and Louisiana, in which States two sets of men had been elected, each claiming the right to the State offices. The heads of these contending factions in South Carolina were invited to come to Washington and confer with the President, while a commission composed of eminent men of both political parties was sent to Louisiana to investigate and report. The result was that the legislatures in each State united to form one body, and in both States the Democratic governors were established and the United States troops withdrawn.

Policy re-
garding
the
Indians

In February, 1880, President Hayes issued a second proclamation against lawless attempts to settle the Indian Territory. He recommended a new Indian policy, education, allotment of land in severalty inalienable for a certain period, fair payment for other Indian lands, and investment of Indians with the rights and privileges of citizenship as fast as such policy should render it safe. The Indians in the United States at this time numbered about 248,000, most of whom were located on 161 reservations containing 86,116,531 acres of land. About 110,000 of these Indians had,

to a considerable extent, adopted civilized customs, and lands in severalty had been allotted to many.

1872

In the closing days of the forty-fifth Congress, Mr. Randall of Pennsylvania introduced a bill removing the political disabilities from every person in the United States. The great majority of Republicans in both Houses were in favor of such a bill, with three exceptions: Jefferson Davis, Robert Toombs, and Jacob Thompson. Under the Constitution, the bill required a vote of two-thirds, which it failed to receive. Mr. Blaine moved an amendment to the bill by excluding Jefferson Davis. The reason he assigned was, "Not that Jefferson Davis had been a rebel, for rebels were restored by thousands; not that he had been in Congress, for Southern Congressmen were restored by scores, if not by hundreds; not that he had been the chief of the revolutionary government, for that would only be a difference of degree in an offense in which he had shared. The point of objection was that Mr. Davis, with the supreme power of the Confederation, both military and civil, had permitted extraordinary cruelties to be inflicted upon prisoners of war; he was held to be legally and morally responsible in that, being able to prevent the horrors of Andersonville Prison, he did not prevent them." The passage of the vote hinged upon this one exception. The Democrats opposed and defeated the amendment, the result being that not only Mr. Davis, but seven hundred prominent men of the South who had taken part in the rebellion, were kept under continued disability.

Bill to
restore
political
rights

Reasons
for ex-
cepting
Jefferson
Davis

Bill
fails of
passage

1872

Bill
reported
by the
Judiciary
Com-
mittee

It was clearly evident that it would be impossible to examine into the merits of individuals by tens of thousands, and representatives of both sides of the House agreed that an act of general amnesty should be prepared with proper exceptions. May 13, 1872, General Butler reported from the Judiciary Committee a bill removing the disabilities "from all persons whomsoever except Senators and Representatives of the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh Congresses; officers in the judiciary, military, and naval service of the United States; heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States." When the bill came before the House, Mr. Rainey, a colored Representative from South Carolina, arose and said:

Excep-
tions
provided
for

Manly
stand of
a colored
Rep-
resentative

"It is not the disposition of my constituents that these disabilities should longer be retained. We are desirous of being magnanimous; it may be that we are so to a fault, nevertheless we have open and frank hearts towards those who were our former oppressors and taskmasters. We foster no enmity now, and we desire to foster none for their acts in the past to us or to the government we love so well, but still we are willing to accord them their enfranchisement, and here to-day give our votes that they may be amnestied, while we declare our hearts open and free from any vindictive feelings towards them. We would say to these gentlemen on the other side that there is another class of citizens in the country who have certain rights before amnesties which they would like you, sirs, to remember and respect. We invoke you, gentlemen, to show the same kindly feeling toward us, a race long oppressed, and in demonstration of this humane and just feeling I implore you give support to the Civil Rights bill which we have been asking at your hands these many days."

The bill was enacted without even a division being called for.

1872

During this session an act changing the United States custom laws was reported from the Committee on Ways and Means, and received the assent of both branches. It changed methods which had prevailed from the foundation of the government. Instead of moieties and perquisites, allowed to customs officers in the chief cities for the detection of frauds upon the revenue, specific salaries were substituted. The modes of procedure against violations of the law were more clearly defined and made more efficient.

Change
in the
custom
laws

When the last session of the forty-fifth Congress closed, no appropriation had been made for the expenses of the legislative, executive, or judicial departments or for the army, owing to the disagreement of the members of the two Houses on certain points of legislation. An extra session was therefore imperative to meet the needs of the government. For the first time since Buchanan's administration, the Democrats had control of both branches and were able to check any legislation not meeting their approval. They held up the army appropriation bill because it provided for the payment of the soldiers at the posts in the Southern States. They now appended an amendment to the bill, providing "that no money appropriated in this act is appropriated or shall be paid for the substances, equipment, transportation, or compensation of any portions of the army of the United States to be used as a police force to keep

Democrats
block legisla-
tion

Secure
amend-
ment to
army
appropriation
bill

1878

peace at the polls at any election held within any State." The bill as amended was promptly approved by the President.

Life-
saving
service
reor-
ganized

In 1878, a resident Chinese embassy was established at Washington. In the same year a bill was passed by Congress for the reorganization of the life-saving service of the United States under the control of the government. The bill imposed the establishment of regular stations and light-houses on all the exposed ports of the Atlantic coast and along the great lakes, each station to be manned by those familiar with the sea and drilled in the methods of rescue and resuscitation. Every appliance in the way of life-boats, life-cars, and methods of communication with foundering or shipwrecked vessels were supplied and their use taught the members of the service. The number of lives saved through the service annually reaches thousands.

Un-
settled
financial
condition

Paper
money
made a
legal
tender

The panics and monetary disturbances which occurred after the war, had brought about conditions which were simply unendurable. During the war they were unavoidable, as sufficient coined money could not be had to meet the unusual demands upon the government. Millions of dollars of paper currency were in circulation and had been made a legal tender, but gold was still the standard of value. Before the settlement of the war and the troubles which succeeded it, this paper money rose in value according to circumstances. When the national affairs were at last settled and business resumed its wonted course, the value of

paper money assumed more prominence. In 1792, the standard unit of value of American money, as decreed by Congress, was the silver dollar, containing $37\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver. In 1849, a gold dollar was added to the coinage, and from that time the standard unit of value existed in both metals. In 1874, the premium of both gold and silver drove them out of circulation, in consequence of which an act was adopted abridging the legal tender quality of silver and finally abolishing it. From that time the silver dollar was omitted from the list of coins to be struck at the national mint. This left the gold dollar, of 23.22 grains, the single standard unit of value in the United States. In the year following, Congress passed the Resumption act, which declared that on the 1st of January, 1879, the government of the United States should begin to redeem its outstanding legal tender notes in coin. This raised the question as to the minting of coin in the act for resuming specie payment. It was decided that all obligations must be discharged according to the measure of the gold dollar only. Immediately there was a universal demand for the remonetization of silver.

A monetary commission was organized under a joint resolution, August 15, 1875, which reported to Congress on March 7, 1877. There was a wide difference of opinion among its members. The majority believed that the United States should remonetize silver without regard to the future policy of Europe, and that a law should be passed fixing $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 as the standard of relative values

1874-7

Dual
standard
of valueGold
becomes
the sole
standard
of valueCreation
of a
mono-
etary com-
mission

1875-8

Differ-
ence of
opinion
about
silver

between silver and gold. One member favored the remonetization of silver at the old relation in the United States of 16 to 1. Senator Boutwell believed that it was not expedient to coin silver dollars to be a legal tender, and that the introduction of silver as currency should be postponed until the effort to secure the coöperation of other nations had been made. Professor Francis Bowen, an authority on economic subjects, declared that a double standard was an illusion and an impossibility, and declared the proper place for silver in the monetary system to be that of subsidiary or token currency, and a legal tender only within certain limits. He advocated the coinage of silver dollars of 345.6 grains to be legal tender for sums not over twenty dollars, and to take the place of all paper currency of less denomination than five dollars.

Senate
stands
for silver
as a legal
tender

In his message, December 3, President Hayes expressed his opinion that the interests of the government and the people would not be promoted by disparaging silver, but held that it should be used only at its commercial value. Senator Matthews of Ohio moved a concurrent resolution in the Senate, declaring that "all bonds of the United States are payable in silver dollars of 412 grains, and that to restore such dollars as a full legal tender for that purpose is not a violation of the public faith or the rights of the creditor." The resolution was hotly discussed in the Senate, and was finally passed under a suspension of the rules, on the 28th of January, 1878.

A few weeks previous, during the extra session, the House had passed, under a suspension of the rules, a bill for the free coinage of silver dollars of 412 grains, full legal tender, for all debts, public and private. The author of the measure was Richard P. Bland of Missouri. As reported from the Finance Committee, it provided for a coinage of dollars of 412½ grains to the extent of not less than two million or more than four million a month. Various amendments were offered and the bill was exhaustively discussed in both branches, and was finally passed by a vote of 203 to 72. The bill was returned to the House of Representatives on the 28th of February, with the President's objections. The reason assigned for his veto was based on the proposition that "the silver dollar authorized is worth eight or ten per cent. less than it purports to be worth, and is made a legal tender for debts contracted when the law did not recognize the coin as legal money. The effect would be to put an end to the receipt of revenue and gold, and thus compel the payment with silver for both the principal and interest of the public debt." This he regarded as a grave breach of public faith. "It is," he added, "my firm conviction that if the country is to be benefited by silver coinage it can only be done by the issue of silver dollars of full value which will defraud no man. A currency worth less than it purports to be worth will in the end defraud not only creditors, but all who engage in legitimate business, and none more surely than those who are

1877-8

Passage
of the
Bland
billReasons
for the
Presi-
dent's
veto

1878 dependent upon their daily labor for their daily bread."

Bill
passes,
and free
coinage of
silver is
provided
for

Both branches passed the bill over the veto by almost exactly the same vote by which it was originally passed. A majority of the Republicans in both Senate and House, with a minority of Democrats, believed in the necessity of maintaining silver coin at full legal tender and upon the basis of equality in intrinsic value with the gold dollar, and that an adjustment should be made providing for the employment of both gold and silver, maintaining between them such equalization as would not violently disturb the value of public property and annual products, and most of all would secure a steadiness in the wages of labor and a sound currency in which to recompense it.

Coming
into a
new con-
dition of
things

The administration of President Hayes may be said to be the dividing line between the old and the new. The political issues which had disturbed the country up to, and during, the Civil War were dead, and each party had now to adjust itself to the new conditions. The country was still suffering from the industrial and financial depressions following the panic of 1873. There had been an overproduction of manufactured goods, particularly iron, on account of railroad building, a demand for specie with which to pay the foreign debt, and the general inflation of prices and credit.

At the Republican National Convention held in Chicago on the 2d and 3d of June, 1880, General

James A. Garfield¹ of Ohio was nominated for President and Chester A. Arthur of New York for Vice-President. The Democratic National Convention met at Cincinnati three weeks later, and nominated General Winfield S. Hancock² of

1880
June

¹James Abraham Garfield, the twentieth President of the United States, was born in Orange, Ohio, November 19, 1831. His father, who was a farmer in moderate circumstances, died while the son was yet an infant, and he was left to the sole care of his widowed mother. During his boyhood he worked about among the farms of the neighborhood, and at fifteen was engaged for some time in driving horses on the tow-path of a canal. When he was seventeen years old he attended the high school in Chester, Ohio, and, having a natural taste, for study, soon made himself prominent in his classes. In 1851, at the age of twenty, he entered Hiram College in Portage, Ohio, where he remained as student and instructor until 1854. In that year he entered Williams College in Massachusetts, graduating in 1856. He then applied himself to the study of law, and practiced in Ohio and was a member of the Ohio Senate in 1859 and 1860. In the former year he was made president of Hiram College. When the Civil War broke out he entered the army as colonel of an Ohio volunteer regiment. In 1862, he was made brigadier-general, and did good service in Kentucky and Tennessee. General Rosecrans appointed him to his staff, and he was made a major-general for gallantry at the battle of Chickamauga. He resigned from the army December 5, 1863, to take a seat in Congress to which he had been elected, and he was elected to each Congress after that until 1880, when he was elected President of the United States.

Life of
James A.
Garfield

²Winfield Scott Hancock was born in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, February 24, 1824, and was graduated from West Point when he was twenty years of age. He first served in the Indian Territory, and afterwards in Mexico, taking part in all the principal battles. When the Civil War broke out he was in California, and was summoned to Washington, commissioned brigadier-general, and assigned to the Army of the Potomac. He soon won a reputation for ability and bravery, and a year later was made major-general and put in command of a division. On the first day of the battle of Gettysburg General Meade left it with him to decide whether the battle should be fought out on that spot or the army should move to a more favorable location. Hancock decided that Gettysburg was the place for the fight, and on the two days following he commanded the principal point of attack, repulsing the last tremendous attack of Lee's army, and falling severely wounded in the moment of victory. For his gallantry he received the thanks of Congress. After the war he was in command of several departments and finally of the Department of the East. He

Han-
cock's
military
career

1880
Nomi-
nees of
Green-
back
party

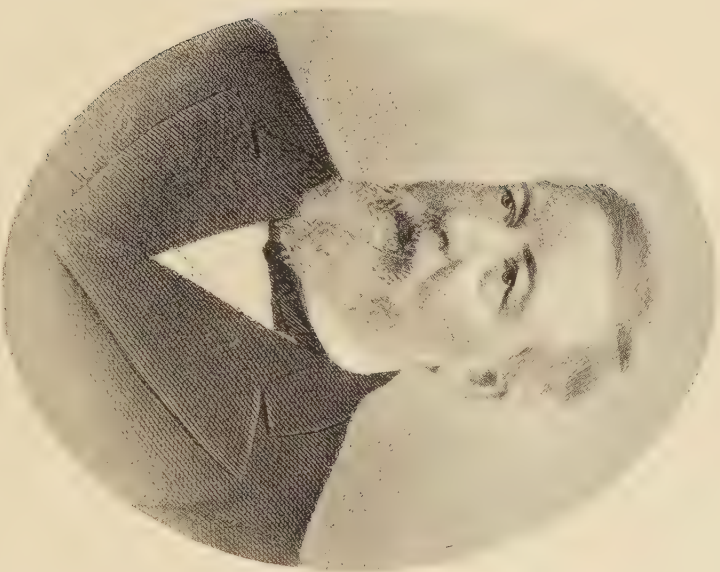
New York for President, and William H. English of Indiana for Vice-President. The National Greenback party held a convention in the same month, nominating General James B. Weaver of Iowa for President and General Benjamin A. Chambers of Texas for Vice-President.

Demo-
crats en-
couraged;
Repub-
licans
aroused

The
"Morey"
forgery

The opening of the campaign looked favorable for the Democrats. In Maine the September elections had resulted adversely to the Republicans, owing to the greenback issue, and the effect was felt in other States. General Grant showed deep interest in the campaign, and accompanied Senator Conkling to Ohio and Indiana, where he made several speeches. Up to within a fortnight the chances of the two parties seemed to be about equal, when suddenly a letter purporting to have been written by General Garfield, approving Chinese immigration to compete with American labor, was lithographed and spread broadcast over the country. The handwriting of General Garfield had been skillfully forged, and the Democratic leaders declared the letter to be genuine. General Garfield at once denounced it as a forgery, and made a solemn denial that he had ever written such a letter. No trace could be found of the man "Morey," to whom it is said to have been written, and the Democratic managers were at last compelled to withdraw the charge, but not until it had had its effect. It cost Garfield the electoral votes

was a prominent candidate for the Presidential nomination in 1868. General Hancock died at Governor's Island, where he was in command, February 9, 1886.



JAMES G. BLAINE.



ROSCOE CONKLING.

of New Jersey and Nevada, and five of the six votes of California. It did not alter the result, however; he carried every Northern State, while Hancock carried every Southern State, the result in the electoral college being Garfield 214, Hancock 155. The National Greenback party secured no electoral vote, though their popular vote aggregated 307,000.

1880-1

 Garfield
elected

On the 4th of March, 1881, President Garfield was duly inaugurated, and sent to the Senate for confirmation the names of the members of his Cabinet as follows: For Secretary of State, James G. Blaine of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln of Illinois; for Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt of Louisiana; for Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood of Iowa; for Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh; for Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James of New York.

 His
Cabinet

Notwithstanding a plank of the Republican platform called for civil service reform, and although it was known that President Garfield was strongly in its favor, the rush for office after his inauguration was unprecedented. Swarms of politicians and place-seekers overran the White House, and Congressmen boldly demanded positions for their constituents as a right. The system under which these attacks were made was aptly described by a distinguished member of the House of Representatives in a speech following an unsuccessful attempt to pass a bill in favor of civil service

 Garfield
beset by
office-
seekers

1881

reform. After referring to the opposition element in the House as "notorious solicitors for office for themselves or their relatives," he proceeded to say:

The
clamor
and rush
for office

Held
up to
ridicule

"Is there on this earth any collection of men in which exists a more intrinsic, hearty, and desperate love of office or place, particularly fat places? Is there any in which place and official emolument more certainly follow distinguished servility at elections, or base scurrility in the press? And as to eagerness for the reward, what is the fact? Let, now, one of your great office-holders, a collector of the customs, a marshal, a commissioner of laws, a postmaster in one of your cities, or any officer, general or director for one of your territories or public lands, a person holding a place of minor distinction but of considerable profit, be called on to pay the last debt of nature, the poor man shall hardly be dead, he shall not be cold long, before the corpse is in the coffin, the mail shall be crowded to repletion with letters, and certificates, and recommendations, and representations, and every species of significant solicitation by which obtrusive mendicancy seeks charity or invites compassion. Why, sir! we hear the clamors of the craving animals at the Treasury doors here in this Capitol. Such running! Such jostling! Such wriggling! Such clambering over one another's backs! Such squealing because the tub is so narrow and the company is so crowded!"

Results
of a
party
axiom

There is no doubt that the party axiom, "To the victors belong the spoils," had wrought greater injury to the republic by forcing weak and incompetent men into office than all the material evils which had befallen it since the formation of the Union. Before the passage of the Civil Service bill no man could be chosen to high office unless he was willing to bind himself to fill the positions under him by the appointment of party followers, the jackals of the political camp who were chosen

without the slightest regard to their capacity for discharging the duties of the office.

1881

Greeley, in the *Tribune*, declared that Marcy's motto "opened the door to an irruption of barbarians as little fitted for real public service as were the hordes of Attila to appreciate the grandeur and beauty of Roman civilization. In the distribution of these fitly called spoils the most zealous, unscrupulous, and ignorant caucus managers, or shoulder-hitters, have been put into places of vast responsibility upon no better qualification than that on some occasion they carried a primary election or secured a nomination for their patron by the sheer strength of their fists or perhaps by judicious bribery."

To whom
fall the
spoils

A Washington correspondent, writing of the condition after the coming in of the new administration, said: "Any one who doubts the propriety, not to say the absolute necessity, of a change has only to visit Washington on the eve of the meeting, or during the session of Congress, or some political excitement, and he will soon become less incredulous. He will see the hotels and principal streets, the lobbies of Congress and departments and the White House, thronged with multitudes of men and women who look as if they had escaped from some bagnio. The men will look dirty and sordid and the women haggard and forbidding, to say no worse. These people are office-seekers or office-beggars. A foreigner, unfamiliar with the chaotic condition of our civil service, might fancy that Botany Bay and the Dry Tortugas had poured

Washing-
ton
during
sessions
of
CongressA Mecca
for office-
seekers

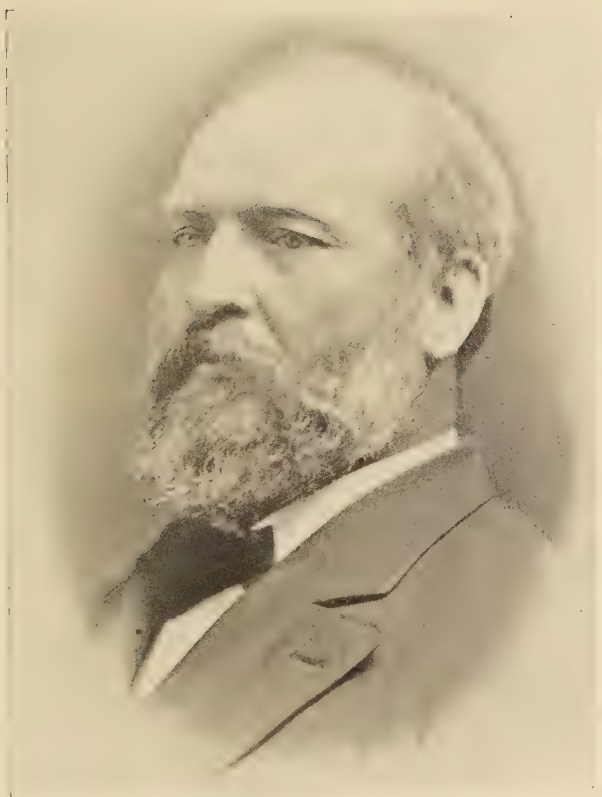
1881

out their inmates upon the capital. These wild, uncouth men and miserable women crowd the parlors of the White House, clamoring for bread as if the government of the United States were a poor-house and the offices meted out to the needy like alms."

Repub-
licans
clash
over
spoils
system

Almost as soon as the new administration was in power, a clash occurred on this very point between the two leading representatives of the Republican party at the capital. Two wings had developed in the party, one headed by Senator Conkling of New York, the other led by James G. Blaine, Secretary of State. The party led by Conkling claimed the right of dispensing the appointive offices of the government as had been done in preceding administrations; that is, the distribution of the offices in the several States by the Senators and Representatives of those States in Congress. The other party, led by Blaine, insisted on naming the officials in the various States according to the wishes of the President, and also according to the fitness of the candidate. The chief cause of the break between the two parties was in respect to the offices in New York. The President appointed Judge William Robertson as collector of customs for the port of New York, which appointment was antagonized by the New York Senators Roscoe Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, who, failing to prevent the confirmation of Robertson, resigned their seats, returned to their State, and failed of a reëlection. Matters stood thus when Congress adjourned in June.

Conkling
and Platt
beaten by
the Pres-
ident



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

On the morning of July 2, President Garfield started to pass a brief vacation with his sick wife at the seaside. While standing at the ticket-office at the Baltimore Station at Washington, he was shot by a miscreant named Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, who approached him from the rear and fired upon him from a few feet's distance. The President was lifted from the floor and carried to the White House, where two surgical operations were performed, and it was hoped for a time that he would ultimately recover. On the 6th of September, he was taken to Elberon, near the sea. For eighty days he suffered, gradually growing weaker. At half-past ten on the evening of September 19, he passed away. Vice-President Arthur, who was then in New York, immediately took the oath of office and hurried to the capital. The body of Garfield was taken from Elberon to Washington, and placed in state in the rotunda of the Capitol, where it was viewed by thousands of people who thronged to the city for that purpose. On the 24th of September, the funeral cortège set out for Cleveland, Ohio, and the dead President was laid at rest in the Lakeview Cemetery, in a place he had selected during his lifetime.

On his arrival at Washington, President Arthur¹ again took the oath of office, which was

1881

Garfield
shot by
GuiteauDeath in
Sep-
tember

¹Chester A. Arthur, who succeeded to the Presidency on the death of Garfield, was born in Franklin County, Vermont, October 5, 1830. He was educated at Union College, from which institution he was graduated in 1849. Subsequently, he taught school. But his ambition was for something higher, and he went to New York City, where he applied himself to the study of law. Later he was admitted to the bar, and soon rose to prominence. During the Civil War he was Quarter-

1881

Arthur
succeeds
to Presi-
dential
office

Changes
in the
Cabinet

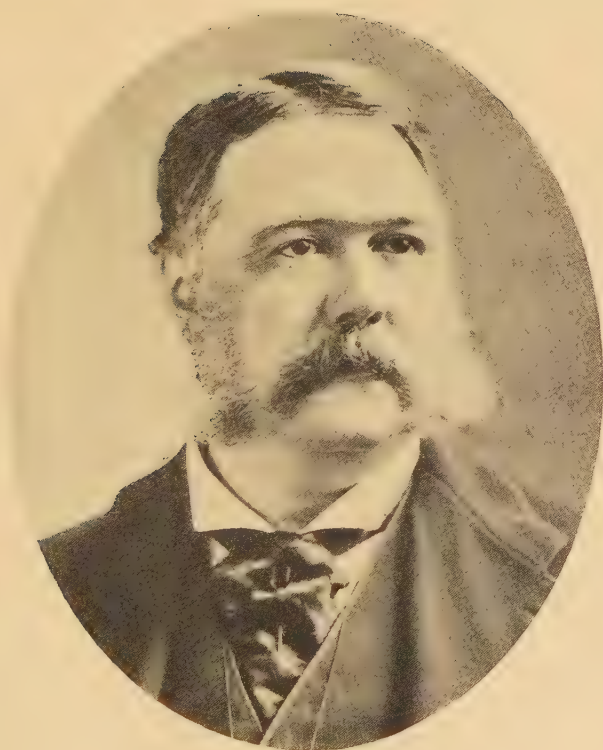
administered in the Capitol by Chief Justice Waite in the presence of General Grant, ex-President Hayes, Senator Sherman, and General Sherman. No immediate change was made in the Cabinet by the President, with one exception. Mr. Windom, Secretary of the Treasury, resigned, and was succeeded by Judge Foster of New York. A little later, Mr. McVeagh, the Attorney-General, also resigned, and was succeeded by Honorable Benjamin H. Brewster of Philadelphia. The next to retire was Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, who was succeeded by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. A little later, Mr. James, Postmaster-General, retired in favor of Honorable Timothy Howe of Wisconsin. Mr. Lincoln remained in the Cabinet as Secretary of War.

In addition to troubles of his own, President Arthur inherited from the preceding administration several difficult problems with which he was now confronted.

Civil
service
reform
to the
front

In the first weeks of the new administration the Cabinet had taken steps towards establishing the competitive system in their departments, but, deprived of the moral support of their leader, their plans came to an end. The people, however, had become thoroughly aroused. The assassination of the President had brought forcibly

master-General of the State of New York. At the close of the war he returned to the practice of law, and was appointed collector of customs for the port of New York in 1871, a position which he held until July, 1878, when he was removed by President Hayes. At the Republican Convention in 1880 he was nominated for the Vice-Presidency, and duly elected.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

home to them the evils of the system. Their wishes for a change were clearly expressed at the State elections in 1882. At the next session of Congress the long-neglected measure was carried through both Houses by overwhelming majorities. The act authorized the President to appoint civil service examiners who should test by fair examinations and report the fitness of applicants for the office. From the list of those passing the civil service examination, appointments and promotions were to be made. During President Arthur's administration, 16,000 office-holders were examined under civil service rules. In President Cleveland's first administration, which closed in 1889, the number had been increased to 27,000. In his second term, ending in 1897, the number had reached 85,000. That number has been very largely increased since that period, and all Federal offices are now under civil service reform rules excepting two classes, the higher officers, including the heads of departments, and postmasters in fourth-class offices. These positions are now filled by those who have successfully passed the civil service examinations without reference to changes in Presidential administrations. Experience and ability, with personal fitness to perform the duties of the office, are the only qualities now demanded in the civil service of the United States.

1882

Com-
petitive
system
provided
forGreat
increase
in num-
ber of
office-
holdersSpoils
system
checked

From the very beginning of the nation, the tariff has been a fruitful source of contention. At its first session, Congress laid an indirect tax upon vessels and certain kinds of goods coming into

1882

The tariff
always a
vexed
question

the country from foreign ports. This was not only for the purpose of raising a revenue, but for protecting the young manufactures springing up at various points in the United States. As this tariff did not yield sufficient revenue for the needs of the country, direct taxes were instituted. Then began the struggle between the two great political parties over the tariff question, which twice came near wrecking the Union. The South clamored for free trade, while New England demanded a protective tariff. From that time until the present the war has been intermittently waged, and no Presidential election has ever taken place in which the tariff question has not formed one of the principal planks in the party platform.

Becomes
the lead-
ing issue
under
Arthur

For nearly twenty years after the close of the war it remained in abeyance, the attention of Congress having been engrossed entirely by the problems which attended reconstruction. During Arthur's administration it came again to the front, and before its close it became the burning question of the time. The different phases of this all-important issue are so little understood by the general reader, that an explanation of them may not be out of place.

The
doctrine
of free
trade

First is the doctrine of *free trade*, pure and simple. The theory is this: The indications of profitable industry are founded in nature. A rich soil means agriculture; a barren soil means something else. Beds of ore signify mining; veins of petroleum, oil wells; a headlong river, water-power; a hill of silicon, glassworks; a forest of

pine, ship-masts and coal-tar; bays, havens, and rivers, commerce. Free trade says that these things are the hints of the natural world as to how human industry shall be exerted. The way to wealth, prosperity, happiness, is to follow nature whithersoever she leads. To go against nature is to go against self-interest and common sense. "Let alone" is the motto of the system—hands off and no meddling with the plain conditions which are imposed on man by his environment. Let him who lives in the fecund valley till the soil and gather a hundred-fold. Let him who inhabits the rocky upland by river-side or bed of pent-up coal devote his energies to manufacturing. Let each procure from the other by exchange the necessities and conveniences of life which he could not himself produce but at a great disadvantage. Let the producer of raw material send it near or far to the manufacturer and receive in return the fabric which he must wear; the food wherewith he must sustain his life. The harmonious order of civilization requires a world-wide exchange of products. Men are happier and richer when they give themselves freely to the laws of their environment, and toil in those fields of industry to which both their own dispositions and the benevolent finger of nature point the way.

All contrivances of law which controvert or oppose these fundamental conditions of legitimate industry, argues the free trader, are false in theory and pernicious in application. If civil society assumes to direct the industries of her people

1882

"Let
alone"
the
motto
of free
trade

Natural
order
to be
followed

1882 against the plain indications of nature, she becomes a tyrant. All laws which tend to divert the industrial energies of a nation from these pursuits which are indicated by the natural surroundings are hurtful, selfish, self-destructive, and, in the long run, weakening and degrading to the people. A tariff duty so laid as to build up one industry at the expense of another is a piece of barbarous intermeddling alike with the principles of common sense and the inherent rights of man. If free trade makes one nation dependent on another, then it also makes that other nation dependent on the first. The one can no more afford to fight the other than the other can afford to fight it. Hence free trade. Hence a tariff for revenue only. It is the true policy of government relative to the interests of the people. Such is the theory of the free trader.

Results
of free
trade

Claims of
inci-
dental
protec-
tionists

The first remove from the doctrine of free trade proper is that of *incidental protection*. The primary assumptions of this theory are nearly identical with those above presented. Nearly all of the propositions advanced by the free trader are accepted as correct by the incidental protectionist. The latter, however, holds some peculiar doctrines of his own. He claims that men—as the doctrine of free trade teaches—should labor according to the indications of nature, and that the attempt on the part of government to divert the industries of the people from one channel to another is contrary to right reason and sound policy. But he also holds that since a tariff is

the common means adopted by most of the civilized states of the world to produce the revenue whereby the expenses of the state are met and sustained, the same should be so levied as to be incidentally favorable to those industries of the people which are placed at a natural disadvantage. He does not hold that any tariff should be levied with the *intention* of protecting and fostering a given industry, but that in every case the tax should be laid for public purposes only; that is, with the *intention of sustaining the state*, and be only incidentally directed to the protection of the weaker industry. These last assumptions furnish the ground of political divergence between free traders proper and incidental protectionists. The latter take into consideration both the fundamental conditions of the argument and the peculiar character of the industries of the people. They claim that given pursuits may thus be strengthened and encouraged by legislative provisions, and that natural and political laws may be made to coöperate in varying and increasing the productive resources of the state.

The third view as relative to this question is that of *limited protection*. The fundamental difference between this theory and the preceding is this: The incidental protectionist denies, and the limited protectionist affirms, the wisdom of levying tariff duties with the *intention* and *purpose* of protecting home industries. The limited protectionist would have the legislation of the state take particular note of the character of the industries

1882

Tariff to
be for
public
purposes
alone

What is
implied
in
limited
protec-
tion

1882

Holds
common
ground
with free
trade in
some
respects

Reasons
calling
for tariff
legis-
lation

of the people, and would have the laws enacted with constant reference to the encouragement of the weaker—generally the manufacturing—pursuits. The doctrine of incidental protection would stop short of this; would adopt the theory of “let alone,” so far as the original purpose of legislation is concerned, but would at the same time so shape the tariff that a needed stimulus should be given to certain industries. The limited protectionist agrees with the free trader in certain assumptions. The former as well as the latter assents to the proposition that the original condition of industry is found in nature—in the environment of the laborer. But he also urges that the necessity for a varied industry is so great, so important, to the welfare and independence of a people, as to justify the deflection of human energies by law to certain pursuits which could not be profitably followed but for the fact of protection. This he makes a reason for tariff legislation. He would make the weaker industry live and thrive by the side of the stronger. He would modify the crude rules of nature by the higher rules of human reason. He would not only adapt man to his environment, but would adapt the environment to him. He would keep in view the strength and dignity of the state, and would be willing to incur temporary disadvantages for the sake of permanent good. In the course of time, when, under the stimulus of a protective system, the industries of the state have become sufficiently varied and sufficiently harmonized with original conditions, he would

allow the system of protective duties to expire and freedom of trade to supervene, but until that time he would insist that the weaker, but not less necessary, industries of a people should be encouraged and fostered by law. He would deny the justice or economy of that system which in a new country, boundless in natural resources, but poor in capital, would constrain the people to bend themselves to the production of a few great staples, the manufacture of which by foreign nations would make them rich and leave the original producers in perpetual vassalage and poverty.

The fourth view is embodied in the theory of *high protection*. In this the doctrine is boldly advanced that the assumptions of free trade are specious and false. The influence of man upon his environment is so great as to make it virtually whatever the law of right reason would suggest. The suggestion of right reason is this: Every nation should be independent. Its sovereignty and equality should be secured by every means short of injustice. In order that a state may be independent and able to mark out for itself a great destiny, its industries must afford employment for all the talents and faculties of man, and yield products adapted to all his wants. To devote the energies of a people to those industries only which are suggested by the situation and environment, is to make man a slave to nature instead of nature's master. It may be sound reason for the people inhabiting a fertile valley to devote themselves principally to agricultural pursuits; but to do this

1882

Freedom
of trade
the final
issueHigh pro-
tection
the very
antith-
esis of
free trade

1862

The
tendency
of tariff
duties

to the exclusion of other industries is merely to narrow the energies of the race, make dependent the laborer, and finally exhaust those very powers of nature which for the present seem to suggest one pursuit and forbid all others. On the contrary, it is the duty of society to build up many industries in every locality, whatever may be the environment. If nature furnishes no suggestion of blast furnaces and iron-works, then nature should be constrained by means of human law. The production of manufactured products should be so encouraged by tariff duties as to become profitable in all situations. Not only should every state, but every community, be made comparatively independent. Every community should be able, by its own industries, to supply at least the larger part of its own wants. The spindle should be *made* to turn; the forge *made* to glow; the mill-wheel *made* to turn; the engine *made* to pant; and the towering furnace to fling up into the darkness of the midnight its volcanic glare—all this, whether nature has or has not prepared the antecedents of such activities. And this cannot be accomplished, or at least not well accomplished, in any other way than by the legal protection of those industries which do not flourish under the action of merely natural laws. It is, in brief, the theory of the high protectionist that every community of men, by means of its varied and independent activities—fostered and encouraged by the protective system—should become in the body politic what the ganglion is in the nerve system of man—an independent, local

Fosters
and pro-
motes
national
inde-
pendence

power, capable of originating its own action and directing its own energies.

1882

There is still a fifth position occasionally assumed by publicists and sometimes by nations. This is the doctrine and practice of *prohibitory tariffs*. The idea here is that the mutual interdependence of nations is, on the whole, disadvantageous, and that each should be rendered *wholly* independent of the other. If in any state or nation certain industrial powers and conditions are wanting, then those powers and conditions should be produced by means of law. Internal trade is, according to this doctrine, the principal thing; and commercial intercourse with foreign states a matter of secondary or even dubious advantage. If the price of the given home product be not sufficient to stimulate its production in such quantities as to meet all the requirements of the market, then that price should be raised by means of legislation, and raised again and again, until the foreign trade shall cease and home manufacture be supplied in its place. True, there are not many who now carry the doctrine of protection to this extreme; but it is also true that in the endeavor to prepare protective schedules under the system of limited or high protection, it not infrequently happens that the tariff is fixed at such a scale as to *act* as a prohibitory duty, and to turn aside entirely the foreign commerce in the article on which the tariff is laid.

A theory
of ex-
tremists

Foreign
trade dis-
couraged

The trend
of high
pro-
tection

Such, then, is the question which from time to time has arisen in the political history of our country. The second statute ever enacted by

1882 Congress under the Constitution was passed for the purpose of "providing a revenue and *affording protection to American industry.*" Even the necessity which gave rise to the Constitution itself was one relating to commerce and interwoven with the tariff. From the decades of the century the leading political agitations were produced by the revival of the tariff issue in our politics. The Whigs of the ante-bellum epoch were in favor of the protective system, and the Democrats opposed it. After the war the question slumbered for a season. In 1880, a paragraph in the national platform of the Democratic party was inserted—not, indeed, with the intention of evoking an old controversy from the shadows of oblivion—which by declaring in favor of "a tariff for revenue only," unexpectedly precipitated the whole issue, and contributed to, if it did not determine, the defeat of the Democratic ticket. Even in those States where Democracy was in the ascendant, the growth of great manufacturing establishments had in the mean time brought in a vast army of artisans, who, in spite of all party affiliation, refused to support a platform which, according to their belief, was calculated to injure, if not destroy, the very business in which they were engaged.

The tariff
issue an
ever-
present
one

Agitation
of the
tariff
brings
Demo-
cratic
defeat

Treaty
secured
with
China

During the latter part of Johnson's administration, in 1868, the United States executed a treaty with China through Anson Burlingame, our minister to that country, granting mutual privileges and rights to the inhabitants of the two countries. Before that, China had held herself apart from

the rest of the world, but through the efforts of our minister the wall of seclusion was broken down and a friendly understanding was negotiated between the two countries. Under the operations of that treaty nearly a hundred thousand Chinese, mostly laborers, got into this country, and an alarm was sounded from the Pacific coast. The cry of the "Yellow Peril" was raised, which reached Congress through the Representatives from California and Oregon. Several ineffectual efforts were made to repeal the treaty during Grant's administration. In 1882, the agreement was amended through a commission of the United States government to China, and a supplemental treaty was negotiated which provided for a limited restriction of the immigration of Chinese laborers. Under its provisions only laborers were to be included in the limitations, the second article of the treaty providing that all other Chinese subjects might come and go to or from the United States of their own free will and accord as the subjects of other nations; but the people of the Pacific coast, although giving their approval at first to this settlement of the question, later became dissatisfied, and the forty-seventh Congress, under pressure from the California Representatives, passed a bill which was vetoed by President Arthur because it violated the modified treaty in prohibiting the importation of all Chinese laborers into this country absolutely for the term of twenty years. The President held that that was a violation of the supplemental treaty, and his veto was sustained.

1882

Rush of
Chinese
to this
countryLeads to
supple-
mental
legis-
lationArthur's
veto of
the bill

1882-3

Passage
of the
Exclu-
sion Act

The arguments against Chinese immigration were, that the Chinese brought no families with them because they did not intend to remain and become citizens; that they showed little interest in American affairs and no inclination to adopt our customs; that they were willing to work for lower wages, thus injuring American laboring men; and that if the door were left open, they would come over in such vast hordes as seriously to endanger our institutions. After long and heated debate, the Exclusion Act was finally passed at the second session of the forty-seventh Congress.

Discus-
sion of
duties
and taxesThe Fitz
John Por-
ter case

No measure of the session occupied so much public attention, or was considered of so great political significance, as the bill to reduce import duties and war taxes. After devoting half the session to the discussion, the measure was finally killed by a vote of 159 to 155, ten not voting. In the same session a bill for the relief of Fitz John Porter was reported by the House Committee on Military Affairs. After an exhaustive trial by court-martial, Porter was dismissed from the army of the United States on January 27, 1863. The verdict was pronounced by a tribunal composed of nine officers of distinguished character and ability. The investigation was thorough and conscientious, and the findings and sentence of the court were approved by President Lincoln. The debate over the bill was long and acrimonious. It finally passed the House by a vote of 184 to 77. The bill then went to the President, who returned it with a veto message, saying that the

proposed legislation would establish a dangerous precedent calculated to imperil in no small measure the binding force and effect of the judgments of the various tribunals established under the Constitution and laws. The President had already, in the exercise of the pardoning power, remedied the penalty which had made it impossible for Porter to hold any office of trust or profit under the government of the United States, and he was unwilling to give his sanction to any legislation which should practically annul the solemn and deliberate conclusion of the tribunal by which he was convicted. The bill passed over the President's veto by the same vote, but in the Senate the measure did not receive the requisite two-thirds majority.

1882

The President's reasons for vetoing the bill

The administration of President Arthur on the whole was uneventful. In Congress the tariff question was the most important issue, and the old arguments for free trade and protection were duly threshed out, but without particular results. In 1882, the country was aroused by the exposure of the alleged Star Route conspiracy to defraud the government. During the Hayes administration there was organized a class of fast mail routes known as the Star Routes, the object of which was to carry the mails into distant and difficult portions of the Western States and Territories. In the law governing the letting of mail contracts, the action of the Postmaster-General and his subordinates was restricted to certain limits of expense. There was a clause, however, which gave to the department the discretionary power to expedite such mail

The Star Route scandal

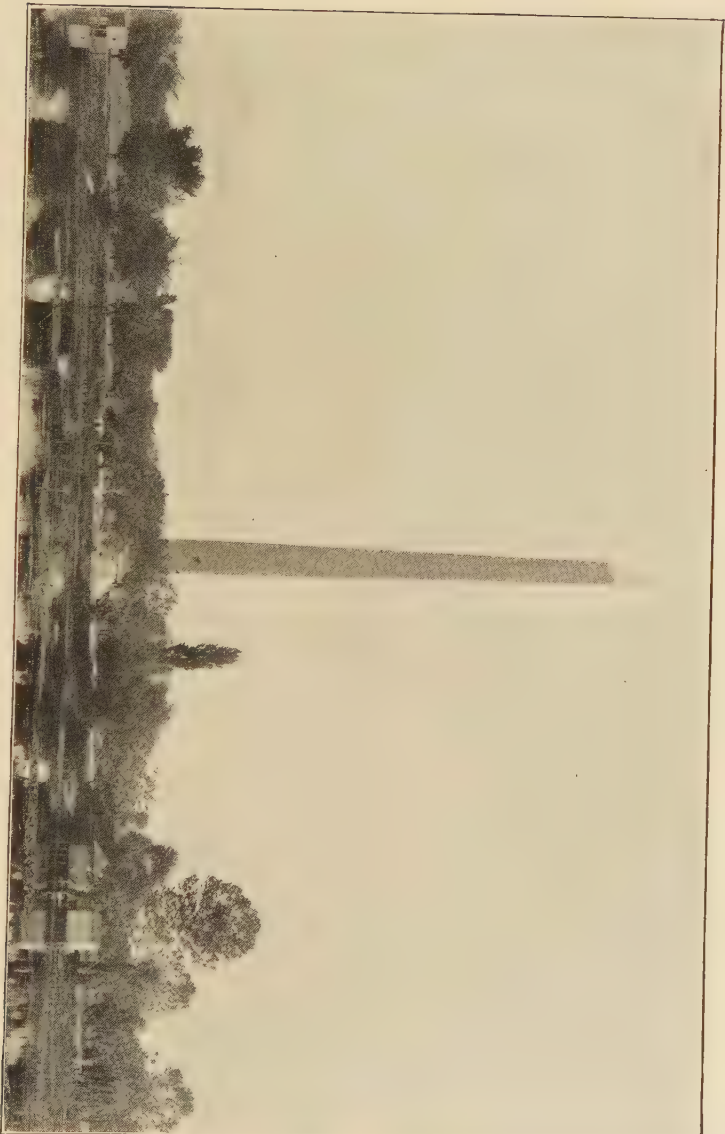
1892

How
fraud was
practiced

routes as seemed to be less efficient than the service required. This gave opportunity to certain officers of the government to let contracts for many mail lines at a low figure, and then to expedite the same lines at exorbitant rates, the difference between the two being clear profit, which was divided with the contractors. The Attorney-General was ordered to prosecute the conspirators, and indictments were found against Senator Stephen W. Dorsey of Arkansas, Second Assistant Postmaster-General Thomas J. Brady of Indiana, and several post-office subordinates. Several of the latter were found guilty, but their superiors, through their position and influence, escaped punishment. This exposure operated disastrously to the Republican party, which was defeated in the State elections of November of that year.

Exposure
led to Re-
publican
defeatComple-
tion of
the
Washing-
ton mon-
ument

Two weeks before the expiration of President Arthur's term, the Washington Monument, which had been in process of construction for fifty years, was completed and dedicated. This structure, which is the highest of its kind in the world, cost over \$1,500,000. The shaft is 555 feet in height, composed of 18,000 blocks of white marble weighing several tons each. One hundred and eighty-one memorial stones, contributed by the different States of the Union and friendly foreign powers, are set at various places in its walls. The ceremonies attending its dedication were of the most impressive character, including a vast procession and an address by the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop.



WASHINGTON MONUMENT AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

In 1881, an effort was made by the Pennsylvania Legislature to have the remains of William Penn removed from the graveyard in Buckinghamshire, England, where they were buried, and interred in Philadelphia. The descendants of Penn in England refused to listen to the idea; nevertheless, a grand celebration was held in Philadelphia on the bicentennial anniversary of Penn's arrival in the country. The celebration began at Chester on Monday, October 23, 1882. The leading characters were dressed in the costume of two hundred years before. A group representing William Penn and his fellow-colonists landed on the historic spot, and were received by a group of Quakers, Swedes, and Indians in their appropriate costumes. The vessel was made to represent as nearly as possible the ship *Welcome* in which Penn arrived. In Philadelphia 200 strokes of the State House bell announced the beginning of "landing-day." More than 500,000 strangers thronged to the city to see the vessel come up the Delaware at nine o'clock in the morning. The landing was made at the foot of Dock street, a procession was formed, and at the grand stand Governor Hoyt greeted Penn and his suite. The founder then made an address to which the Sachem made a reply. The procession included more than 20,000 men in line, and was four and one-half hours passing the grand stand. It was so arranged as to show the gradual progress made during the two centuries of the State's existence. The festivities continued for nearly a week.

1881-2

Removal
of
William
Penn's
remains
proposedCelebra-
tion in
Phila-
delphia

1883

The great
Brooklyn
bridge

In 1883, the Brooklyn bridge, the largest structure of its kind in the world, was completed and formally opened on the 24th of May. It was sixteen years in completing and cost \$16,000,000. It is more than a mile in length, is eighty-five feet wide, and its centre is supported by four main cables nearly sixteen inches in diameter, made of steel wire. There are five passage-ways, two for cable cars and two for driveways, and a middle one for foot passengers. It was designed by John A. Roebling, the originator of wire suspension bridges, and was constructed under his supervision and that of his son, W. A. Roebling. At the beginning its estimated cost was \$5,000,000, and the capital of the company for the construction was fixed at that sum. In 1875, the work passed from a private corporation to the State of New York, and a board of managers was appointed to bring the bridge to an early completion. Its formal opening drew an immense throng, and all day long every passage-way was crowded by curious visitors.

Adoption
of
standard
time

What is known as the new standard time was adopted by agreement by all the principal railroads of the United States at twelve o'clock noon on November 18, 1883. By this system the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific was divided into five longitudinal belts, and a meridian of time is fixed for each belt. These meridians are fifteen degrees apart, corresponding to one hour of time. Eastern Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia use the 60th meridian. The Canadas, New England, the Middle States, Virginia, and the

Carolinas use the 75th meridian, which is that of Philadelphia. The States of the Mississippi Valley, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida, and westward, including Texas, Kansas, and the larger part of Nebraska and Dakota, use the 90th meridian, which is that of New Orleans. The States to the western border of Arizona and Montana go by the time of the 105th meridian, which is that of Denver. The Pacific States use the time of the 120th meridian.

1883-4

The time divisions are known as Intercolonial time, Eastern time, Central time, Mountain time, and Pacific time. A traveler passing from one time belt to another will find his watch an hour too fast or too slow, according to the direction in which he is going. All points in any division use the time of the meridian, and must set their timepieces faster or slower than the time indicated by the sun according as they lie east or west of the line. This change reduced railroad time standards from fifty-three to five, a great convenience not only to the railroads, but to travelers.

The new
time di-
visions

The Presidential campaign of 1884 was waged with unusual vigor. Before the Republican Convention there were eight possible candidates whose claims were strongly urged by their adherents. On the side of the Democrats there was an equal number of statesmen eager for nomination. The Republican Convention met on the 3d of May, and after three days' hard fight nominated James G. Blaine of Maine for President, and General John A. Logan of Illinois for Vice-President. On

The cam-
paign of
1884

1884-5

Election
of Cleve-
land and
Hen-
dricks

the 9th of July, the Democratic delegates met and nominated Governor Grover Cleveland¹ of New York for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President. Neither side, as a whole, was satisfied with these nominations, and powerful factions in both parties refused to support the nominees. In the mean time the Greenback Labor party met at Indianapolis and nominated General Benjamin F. Butler as a candidate for the Presidency, and A. M. West of Mississippi for the Vice-Presidency. The result of the election was favorable to the Democrats, 219 votes in the electoral college being given to Cleveland and Hendricks against 182 votes for Blaine and Logan.

The new
Cabinet

Mr. Cleveland was duly inaugurated on the 4th of March, and at once sent in the names of his new Cabinet to the Senate. Its members were as follows: Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning of New York; Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi; for Secretary of War, William C. Endicott of Massachusetts; for Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney of New York; for Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas of Wisconsin; for Attorney-General, Augustus H. Garland of Arkansas.

¹Grover Cleveland, the twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States, was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, in 1837. In his early childhood the family removed to New York State. Later he became a lawyer and took high rank in his profession. After filling the offices of assistant district attorney and sheriff of the county, he was elected mayor of Buffalo. In all the positions he occupied he showed remarkable independence and ability. In 1882, he was made governor of New York, and in 1884 was nominated for the Presidency.

CHAPTER CXV.

DEMOCRACY AGAIN IN POWER

It had been twenty-three years since the last Democratic President retired from office. In the exuberance of its victory the party threatened to repeat the wholesale removals of 1829.

1885

No sooner had the President taken his seat, than he was beset with a horde of office-seekers. One of the planks of the platform upon which he had been elected was that of civil service reform, and it was now to be seen whether he would have sufficient strength to carry out its principles. The demands upon him were continuous, and were not only urged by the office-seekers themselves, but by their respective Representatives and Senators, the claim being party service. Fortunately, Cleveland was no weakling, and his selections were made strictly in accordance with the rules adopted by the Civil Service Commission.

Clamor
for office

The final act of the Congress which came to an adjournment at noon March 4, 1884, had been to pass a bill placing General Ulysses S. Grant upon the retired list of the army, and the last official act of President Arthur had been the signature of that bill. The War Office made out the commission at once, and it was the first parchment signed by Grover Cleveland as President.

General
Grant
retired

1885-6

Marriage
of Presi-
dent
Cleve-
land

When President Cleveland entered upon the duties of his office, he was yet unmarried, and the dispensing of the hospitalities of the White House fell upon his sister, Miss Rose Cleveland. That condition of things, however, was of short duration. On June 2, 1886, he was married to Miss Frances Folsom of Buffalo, New York, the daughter of a lifelong friend. Instead of taking up his residence at the Executive Mansion, Mr. Cleveland purchased a picturesque, old-fashioned house beyond Georgetown, about four miles distant, which he made his home, going to and from the White House every day.

Death of
the Vice-
Presi-
dent

Shortly before the meeting of the second session of the forty-ninth Congress, Vice-President Hendricks was seized with a mortal illness and died November 25, 1885. He had been an important figure in politics in his day and served in many responsible positions. This sudden and unexpected event created a peculiar condition of affairs. At that time the Senate was Republican, and John Sherman, its president *pro tempore*, now became by virtue of that position, Vice-President. If Cleveland should die, Sherman would succeed him as President, a contingency which, though not probable, was possible. A law was already in existence providing that in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President, the temporary President of the Senate, and, following him, the Speaker of the House, should become President; but since in case either of the last named should be of the opposite party, their

succession would not represent the choice of the people, the plan was not considered satisfactory. In case a newly elected President should die and be succeeded by the Vice-President before the assembling of the newly elected Congress, there would be no President *pro tempore* of the Senate and no Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the death of one person might cause the Presidency to lapse. Moreover, the presiding officers of the two Houses of Congress might be members of the opposite party. Sound policy, therefore, required that a victorious party should not be turned out because of the death of the President and Vice-President. The Succession act, therefore, provided that in such an event the succession should devolve upon the members of the Cabinet in the following order: Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior. Such members as for any reason might be disqualified, would be passed over. No emergency could be conceived which would now leave the country without a President.

1885

Provid-
ing for
emer-
gencies

An important measure of the same Congress was the bill to prohibit the importation and migration of foreigners and aliens under contract or agreement to perform labor in the United States, its Territories and the District of Columbia. It is popularly known as the Foreign Contract Labor bill. It was passed February 18, 1885, and has remained since that time on the statute-book.

The
Foreign
Contract
Labor
bill

1885

Cleveland's
first
message

President Cleveland's annual message to Congress in December was almost entirely devoted to the question of surplus revenue, its causes and remedy. "Our present tariff laws," he declared, "the vicious, inequitable, and logical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be revised and amended. The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers."

The
fishery
question

There were other matters of importance to be considered during the session. One of these was the ever-recurring fishery question. The President recommended in his annual message that Congress should provide for the appointment of a commission in which the governments of the United States and Great Britain should be respectively represented, charged with the consideration and settlement upon a just, equitable, and honorable basis of the entire question of the fishing rights of the two governments and their respective citizens on the coast of the United States and British North America.

Soon after taking office, Mr. Cleveland had withdrawn for examination the treaties which had been signed by his predecessor with Spain and San Domingo, then pending before the Senate. He now reported that he found it inexpedient to enter into engagements such as were covered by the treaties, which contemplated the surrender by

the United States of large revenues for inadequate consideration. He urged that Congress make proper appropriations for the maintenance of the diplomatic and consular service on a footing commensurate with the importance of the national interests, and that salaries should be so graded that representatives should be able to live with comfort and dignity. He pointed to the fact that the revenues were in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the government, and recommended a reduction of the tax upon the important necessities of life. He called attention to the fact that, under the compulsory provisions of law, in eight years' time 215,759,431 silver dollars had been coined, an amount far beyond that needed for sufficient circulating medium, more than 165,000,000 of these coins being still in possession of the government, the custody of which had entailed a considerable expense for the construction of vaults for its deposit. Attention was also called to the importance of an effective navy. "We have not," said the President, "a single vessel of war that could keep the seas against first-class vessels of any important power. Such a condition ought not longer to continue. The nation that cannot resist aggression is constantly exposed and its foreign policy is of necessity weak, and its negotiations are conducted with disadvantage because it is not in condition to enforce the terms dictated by its sense of right and justice. If we are content with the maintenance of a naval department simply as a

1885

The matter of
revenueRecommendations
as to
the navy

1885

Looking
to the
future

shabby ornament of the government, a constant watchfulness may prevent some of the scandal and abuse which have found their way into our present organization, and its incurable waste may be reduced to a minimum. But if we desire to build ships for present usefulness instead of naval reminders of the days that are past, we must have a department organized for the work supplied with all the talent and ingenuity our country affords, prepared to take advantage of the experience of other nations, systemized so that all effort shall unite and lead in one direction."

The
Indian
question

The importance of making a definite settlement of the Indian question was dwelt upon at length in the message, and the passing recommended of a law authorizing the appointment of commissioners to be charged with the duty of inspection from time to time of all the Indians upon the reservations, or subject to the care and control of the government, with a view of determining what step should be taken by the government to improve their situation in the direction of their self-support and complete civilization. Matters concerning public domain were considered and proper legislation recommended. In closing his message the President put himself on record as to civil service reform.

One of the most important incidents of the session was the controversy between the President and the Senate over the right of that body to information on file in the departments in regard to suspension from office. A long and heated

debate of several days took place, the main point at issue being whether removal from office under the policy proclaimed by the new administration involved an imputation on the official removed. The purpose of the Republican Senators was to compel an acknowledgment that officials were removed merely on political grounds. In the course of the session, the Secretary of the Treasury made an arrangement by which, in the case of collectors of internal revenue, it was conceded that where charges were not preferred, removal was not in any way a reflection upon the official removed.

1885

Suspension from office

Nothing was done during the session for the revision of the tariff, though various acts modifying the system of import duties or making rates upon special articles were introduced. On March 18, the Senate passed without a division a bill providing for a commission "to investigate the alcoholic liquor traffic, its relation to revenue and taxation, and its general economic, criminal, moral, and scientific aspects in connection with pauperism, crime, social vice, the public health, and the general welfare of the people; and also to inquire as to the practical results of license and prohibitory legislation for the prevention of intemperance in the several States of the Union." The pension bills vetoed by the President during the session formed the subject of much warm discussion; these numbered over 100, and in every case the Committee on Pensions reported that the President had acted under a misapprehension. In several cases attempts were made to pass special

Tariff, liquor traffic, and pensions

1885 pension bills over the President's veto, but though a majority in the Senate and House seemed disposed to do so, there was only one case in which the veto was overridden. Several labor bills were introduced during the session, none of which were passed. One was a bill reported from the Committee on Labor to provide a method for settling controversies and differences between railroad corporations engaged in interstate and territorial transportation of property or passengers, and their employees. In the House this bill passed by a vote of 199 to 30, but did not come to a final vote in the Senate. On January 9, a bill for incorporating national trades unions passed both Houses without a division.

Incorporation of trades unions

The forfeitures of land grants made in the forty-eighth Congress amounted to 19,610,880 acres. Those made in the forty-ninth Congress amounted to nearly 40,000,000 acres. The Interstate Commerce bill got the usual amount of tinkering, and more than the usual number of amendments to the Constitution were proposed.

Retaking of public lands

On July 1, the President signed the bill restoring Fitz John Porter to the army with the rank of colonel, after he had been for twenty-two years under sentence of dismissal.

Fitz John Porter

In the first year of Mr. Cleveland's administration there was an epidemic of labor troubles and strikes. It was a period of stagnation in business. The harvest of the preceding year had been a failure, and manufacturers had been obliged to close or reduce wages. These conditions were

prolific of trouble. The laboring classes took the view that the difficulty was solely due to the oppression of capitalists, and war was declared between organized labor and unorganized capital. The alleged inability of mine owners and manufacturers to pay the wages demanded by their employees led to the importation of vast numbers of ignorant and half-civilized laborers from abroad, largely from the mines of Poland and Hungary, ignorant of the language and customs of the country. Still another class of foreign immigrants, even more dangerous, were those of some education, who were infected with communistic theories of society and anarchical views of government. The great railroad strike of 1867 has already been referred to. After its settlement, and until 1886, matters on the railroads had been comparatively quiet.

1885-6

Causes
for
unrest

In the summer of this year an inefficient workman, a member of the Knights of Labor, employed on a small branch road of the Texas Pacific, was discharged for cause. This action was resented by the society to which he belonged, and the laborers on the Gould system, which extended from the Mississippi River to the Southwest, were ordered to strike. For a few days transportation of freights from St. Louis to the Southwest was tied up, but gradually other workmen were substituted and the regular service resumed. During its continuance a severe riot took place in East St. Louis, and a number of men were killed. In Chicago the conditions at this time were more

Railroad
strikes
in the
South-
west

1886

Anarchy
loose in
ChicagoParaly-
sis of
business

alarming. The socialistic and anarchistic elements made up largely of foreigners boldly defied the authorities, and paraded the streets with red flags bearing revolutionary mottoes, and addresses were made by the leaders, who declared themselves the enemies of society, denounced the authorities, and advocated armed revolution and destruction of the existing order. On the 1st of May, a dangerous riot broke out, growing out of the eight-hour movement on the part of the labor unions, which was resisted by the employers, especially at the great reaper works of the McCormick Company. On that day, 40,000 laborers struck work in Chicago and demanded a reduction of time from ten to eight hours. Processions composed of the strikers paraded the streets. Many of the organizations were peaceable, and bore mottoes praising the firms that had conceded the eight-hour day. The lumbermen, who had not obtained this concession, marched in a procession in front of which the red flag was carried. They numbered over 10,000, and held meetings in the street at which highly incendiary speeches were made. The freight handlers, over a thousand in number, marched about from depot to depot, forcing their fellow-workmen to join them in the strike. The result was that by night every railroad in the city was badly crippled. All the freight-houses were closed and barred, and the industries of the city were completely paralyzed. Those of the freight handlers who continued to work were protected by armed guards.

The processions were largely augmented by foreign anarchists, Germans, Bohemians, and Poles who were not affiliated with the unions, but who seized upon the opportunity to arouse the passions of the excited strikers and push them on to the commission of violence. Many of the workmen were ready to accept reasonable terms from their employers, and did not insist upon getting ten hours' pay for eight hours' work, but they were overawed by the leaders. The demands of the lumbermen were extreme. On Monday, May 3, a great crowd of strikers, with a strong infusion of the anarchistic element, gathered about the McCormick works, where most of the employees continued at work. A large number of them, however, were intimidated by the strikers and left their places, though seven hundred men went to work as usual. During the day the company adopted eight-hour time and gave the men a half-holiday. The McCormick workmen supposed that trouble was at an end; but, on leaving the building, they were attacked by the crowd with stones and pistol shots. At the same time the windows in front of the works were smashed, and the crowd had begun battering down the doors with crowbars, with the avowed intention of destroying and setting fire to the works, when a detachment of policemen arrived. The strikers now attacked the force with stones, brickbats, and revolvers. The police returned the fire, and about a dozen of the mob were killed or wounded. The crowd was finally dispersed.

1886

Influence
of the
leadersWork-
men
attacked
by a mob

1886 On that evening and the next day handbills were distributed, printed in different languages, calling upon the workingmen to meet at the old Haymarket, a large open space at the junction of Desplaines and Randolph streets. Here the

The Hay-
market
riot

Loss
of life

Convic-
tion of
anarch-
ists

crowd gathered, and were addressed by several well-known anarchists. The speeches were of the most violent character, so much so that a serious riot was feared, and it was deemed best at police headquarters to disperse the crowd. Accordingly, 170 men, picked from the force, were marched to the place where the speeches were being delivered from a wagon in the centre of the street. The crowd was ordered to disperse, and just at that moment a bomb with a lighted fuse attached was thrown from a crowd of men standing in an alley directly opposite the wagon. It struck the ground among the police, exploded, and killed and wounded sixty men. Thereupon the officers charged the mob, firing their revolvers, killing and wounding a large number. Speedy arrests were made, and eight men, not one of whom was an American, were arrested and tried. Six of these were Germans and two Englishmen. The evidence against the prisoners was mostly supplied by anarchistic informers, by detectives, the police, and reporters. The evidence was conclusive; bombs were found at the homes and lodgings of all the men under arrest, together with incriminating papers which showed that the affair was the result of a conspiracy. Six were sentenced to death and one to a life term of imprisonment. In prison

one committed suicide by placing the end of a small bomb in his mouth and blowing his head off.

1854-70

The fishery question from the time of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 had become a constant source of irritation. Under the provisions of that treaty, natural products were admitted free of duty into the United States, and the inshore privileges were granted to Americans as under a previous treaty. Nova Scotia and Newfoundland strongly objected to this arrangement, but the British government, anxious to obtain for the produce of Canada an outlet to repair the loss of the exclusive market the colonies had enjoyed in Great Britain before the adoption of free trade, paid no attention to them. Before that time, bounties were granted to fisherman by the general government, which had been one of the chief causes of the jealous and hostile feelings entertained on the fishery question in the Maritime Provinces. This treaty would terminate in 1866. In consequence of governmental acts of the British and Canadians during the Civil War, the relations between the government at Washington and the British government were so strained that neither party was disposed to renew the treaty. The American fishermen were notified by proclamation of the cessation of their fishery rights in Canadian waters, yet they continued to fish within the three-mile limit as before. The provincial authorities then exacted a license fee of fifty cents a ton. This was paid until it was raised to two dollars a ton. In 1868 and 1870, the Dominion Parliament passed special

Fishery
treaty
not satis-
factory

Strained
relations
between
the
countries

1870-80 acts prohibiting fishermen from poaching on the Canadian grounds and imposing penalties therefor.

Appoint-
ment of
fishery
com-
mission

After Nova Scotia and New Brunswick became incorporated into the Dominion, the fisheries were placed in charge of a Cabinet minister. The Canadian authorities had ample reason for complaint during the years of 1869 and 1870, and endeavored to police its fisheries with cruisers which cost nearly a million dollars to maintain. The United States protested against the exercise of technical rights, among them the prohibition of purchase of bait. Negotiations were begun for the adjustment of disputes between Great Britain and the United States. The fishery question was complicated with the American claim for damages for the depredations of Confederate cruisers built in England. The United States government offered a million dollars for the right of the inshore fisheries in perpetuity, but it was rejected. It was finally agreed by the two governments to refer the whole matter to a joint commission and an umpire. The fishery commission met at Halifax in 1877.

The
Fortune
Bay
trouble

In 1880 occurred what was known as the Fortune Bay dispute. A little fleet of American fishermen, anchored in Fortune Bay, were driven out by a mob of Newfoundland fishermen on the ground that they were fishing on Sunday, which was forbidden by the local statutes. The matter was laid before the British government, and Lord Salisbury claimed that the fishery rights were subject to local regulations. Lord Granville, who succeeded him, admitted that unreasonable local laws

could not act as a restriction of rights granted by treaty. The British government paid damages, which closed the incident.

1880-6

The treaty had been made for ten years, either party having the right to abrogate it on two years' notice. The United States government gave this notice in 1883, and the treaty expired on the 1st of July, 1885. The government was now in a mood to pass retaliatory legislation. In 1886, a bill was introduced into the House to close American ports to Canadian vessels, and to forbid the entrance of Canadian fresh or salt fish or other products into the United States by railroad if the Dominion authorities continued to deny to American fishermen the rights secured to them under the treaty of 1818 and by international law. This bill was amended by giving the President discretionary authority to deny the vessels of the British Dominion entrance into any or all of the ports or waters of the United States, except in cases of distress, and to prohibit the entering of fish or other products from them into this country. In December, 1886, the American minister proposed an *ad interim* arrangement under which American fishermen were to have the right of purchasing bait and other supplies, and British and American war vessels were to act as police to prevent poaching on the inshore fisheries. This was not accepted, but a counter proposition was made by the British government to return for the season to the condition of things as they existed under the treaty of 1872. A commission was proposed, and Joseph

Seeking
to get
evenNo agree-
ment
arrived
at

1887

Chamberlain was sent to Washington to try to effect a settlement. Little, however, was accomplished in that direction, and the matter was left open for future settlement.

Protec-
tion of
American
rights

A little later, several fishing vessels were seized by the government on the ground that they had violated the fishery laws and had invaded Canadian waters. In January, 1887, a bill was reported in the Senate from the Committee on Foreign Relations to authorize the President of the United States to protect and defend the rights of American fishing vessels, American fisheries, American trading and other vessels in certain cases and in other circumstances. The bill provided that if American vessels were mistreated in Canadian ports, or were denied or embarrassed in the fair exercise of their rights, the President might, as a countervailing operation, say that the Canadian fish, and the Canadian fishermen, and the Canadian trader should not come into the waters of the United States at all. This bill was advocated with a great exhibition of the "jingo spirit," much of which was simply denunciatory of Great Britain and did not touch the question at all. In spite of the charges made, it could not be found that any American citizen had been deprived of any of his rights or that any vessel had been molested in Canadian waters that had not been taken up in consonance with the provisions of the treaty existing between the two governments. There was a good deal of war talk, and in the end the measure was passed.

Final
passage
of the
measure

At the next session of Congress, the matter was again taken up. Commissioners had in the mean time been appointed by the government of Great Britain and that of the United States to settle the fishery troubles by treaty. This was concluded on the 8th of September, and was passed by the House, the Senate taking no action.

1887

One of the acts of the fiftieth Congress was the passage of the direct tax bill, the purpose of which was to pay back the direct tax levied by the government in 1861 and only partially collected. The bill was a practical measure, settling and closing up a difficult subject, and one that had embarrassed the Treasury in its accounts and had worked inequality, irregularity, and injustice to many of the States.

The
direct
tax bill

At the same session the House passed a joint resolution authorizing an investigation of the books, accounts, and methods of the Pacific railroads, which had received aid from the United States. During the year 1887, the Secretary of the Interior instituted special investigations into the status of the various grants of indemnity lands to railroads under different acts of Congress, with a view to restoring to the public use such lands as had been forfeited by a noncompliance with the conditions of the grant. He found that, notwithstanding these grants were made exclusively for the interests of the companies, few of these, if any of them, had constructed their roads within the time prescribed in the granting act. Maps showing the routes of the roads were

Over-
hauling
of the
Pacific
railroads

1886-7

Reclama-
tion of
much
public
land

filed with rapidity in the department, and withdrawals thereunder asked and almost invariably granted until the public land, States and Territories were gridironed over with railroad grants, which, in many instances overlapped and conflicted with those of other roads. Accordingly, in May, the Secretary of the Interior issued orders to various companies to show cause before a certain date why grants to them should not be revoked. The objections of such remonstrances as were brought were considered and a decision given by the department on August 13. Two days later, orders were issued revoking grants made to about thirty different companies, restoring to the government and opening for settlement an area estimated at 21,323,600 acres, or equal in size to the State of Maine. In addition to this, there was canceled for various causes from March 4, 1885, to October, 1886, the total of 24,339,794 acres of entries or grants. The work of destroying unlawful enclosures of the public land by cattle owners upon the plains also progressed successfully during the year, about 5,000,000 acres being thus reclaimed.

The
Charles-
ton
earth-
quake

During the summer of 1886 the whole southern section of the country was thrown into a state of intense alarm by the Charleston earthquake. On the night of the 31st of August, at about ten o'clock, the shock of an earthquake was felt with varying degrees of violence through nearly the whole country east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. The most serious effects of the convulsion were felt in the city of

Charleston and the surrounding country, the centre of the disturbance. Scores of buildings in Charleston were wrecked. The people left their dwellings to live in tents in the public squares and parks, or fled into the open country. Slight shocks were felt for several weeks, but they gradually died away and finally discontinued altogether. Other cities were similarly affected, but in a lesser degree. In Charleston it was several months before the inhabitants dared to clear away the ruins of the wrecked buildings, but finally business was resumed, houses were reconstructed, and the people again returned to their homes.

In the closing days of the session considerable excitement was occasioned by the President returning unsigned to Congress what was known as the "Dependent Pension Bill." The message began: "I herewith return without my signature and approval House Bill No. 10,457, entitled 'An act for the relief of dependent parents and honorably discharged soldiers and sailors who are now dependent upon their own labor for support.' This is the first general bill that has been sanctioned by Congress since the close of the Civil War permitting the pension of soldiers and sailors who served in that war, upon the ground of service and present disability alone, and in the entire absence of any injuries by the casualties and incidents of that service." He then reviewed the history of the United States pension legislation, and pointed out the defects of the bill before him, concluding as follows: "The evil threatened by

1886-7

The
South
Carolina
"trem-
bler"

Cleve-
land
upon the
pensions

1887

The President's
opinion

this bill is in my opinion such that, charged with the great responsibility in behalf of the people, I cannot do otherwise than to bring to the consideration of this measure my best efforts of thought and judgment, and perform my constitutional duty in relation thereto, regardless of all consequences except such as appear to me to be related to the best and highest interests of the country."

Opposed
to paternalism

Mr. Cleveland was strongly opposed to the paternal idea of government, and from time to time vetoed bills which appealed to sentiment, if they conflicted with his ideas of constitutional law. One of these vetoes was of an act to enable the Commissioner of Agriculture to make a special distribution of seeds in the drought-stricken counties of Texas. He expressed his deep sympathy for the suffering people, but said: "I can find no warrant for such an appropriation in the Constitution, and I do not believe that the power and duty of the general government ought to be expended for the relief of individual suffering, which is in no manner properly related to the public service or benefit. A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, be steadfastly resisted to the end that the lesson should be constantly enforced, that, although the people support the government, the government should not support the people."

The great question of the first session of the fiftieth Congress was revenue reform. This was dwelt upon at length in the President's message. Under the then existing laws, more than 4000

articles were subject to duty, many of them in no way competing with American manufactures. The President urged that while taxation of luxuries presented no feature of hardship, the necessities of life used and consumed by all the people, a duty upon which added to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened. The House had now a Democratic majority, and proceeded at once to carry out the policy outlined by the President. The members of the Ways and Means Committee, after long consideration, drafted what is called the Mills bill, so called after the chairman of the committee, Roger Q. Mills of Texas. This passed in the House, but failed in the Senate.

1888

House
adopts
the Mills
bill

On the 2d of April, 1888, a measure,—known as the Wilson bill,—was introduced “to reduce taxation and simplify the laws in relation to the collection of revenue.” Debate upon it began on the 17th day of April, and continued fifty-one days, during which 151 speeches were made. It has gone down in history as one of the great tariff debates. The bill passed the House on the 21st of July by a vote of 162 to 149. In the Senate the measure was referred to the Finance Committee, and the Republican majority of that committee prepared a substitute which they reported by way of amendment. This made the bill practically a new measure. The House, after much discussion, finally accepted it as a compromise, the bill standing finally for a moderately low protective tariff. The reduction of revenue consequent upon its passage seemed likely to give place to an

Great
debate
upon the
tariff

1888

Income
tax
declared
unconsti-
tutional

annual deficit. To supply this an amendment was made to the bill providing for an income tax, and agreeing to a provision by which all incomes of more than \$4000 a year were to pay a national tax of two per cent. This aroused strong opposition among the wealthier classes and the banks and immediately after its passage the constitutionality of the income tax was tested before the Supreme Court. The case was argued with great ability by some of the more prominent legal lights of the country, and it was finally decided by our highest tribunal, by a vote of 5 to 4, that it was unconstitutional.

Inter-
state
com-
merce

During the session a bill was introduced for the establishment of a board of commissioners of interstate commerce and for the regulation of such commerce. The discussion of this bill and the various attempts at its amendment have occupied more or less attention from every Congress since that time. It found many able opponents whose arguments against its expediency seemed to the ordinary voter to be conclusive.

Seeking a
remedy
for a
great evil

Up to the time of this legislation, competition had been regarded as the safeguard of the public. The custom had been for railways to fix rates at will, subject only to the control of competitive conditions. Naturally, competition led to discrimination, which at last became a gigantic evil. Those who suffered from its workings were at last driven to demand legislative investigation. The remedy proposed was the imposition of heavy penalties wherever instances of unjust discrimination could

be proved, but no restrictions were placed upon competition. This remedy was the essence of the interstate commerce law. The underlying intent was to give every road a fair chance for business; the results were to ruin the smaller roads and to throw the traffic to the main and direct lines which could give the best service and make the best time. The smaller roads found that business was leaving them, and that their earnings were steadily reduced, and some were thrown into insolvency. Before that, it had been customary for them to obtain business by rebates and other like devices which were now forbidden. This led to the employment of numerous methods of evading the law, but as soon as these became known to the larger lines, they resorted to the same devices and the weaker roads were left in the same position as before. In the last days of the fiftieth Congress, amendments were adopted by which shippers as well as carriers were made subject to the penalties of the law, the punishment of imprisonment being added to the penalties in cases of unjust discrimination. For two years the law seemed to be effective, but in 1890 evasions of the law were secretly inaugurated. Although these were known, the government was backward in making prosecutions and the law soon came to be regarded as a dead letter. The bill was declared by its opponents to be a direct interference with the natural laws of trade and traffic; at any rate, it is safe to say that no other measure ever adopted by the American Congress has been so difficult of application

1888

Injustice
to the
smaller
roads

Evasions
of the law

1889

or has thrown the commercial affairs of the country into so great disorder.

Various
pension
bills

In 1889, an act was also passed providing that pensions hereafter granted to widows of the soldiers of the war of the rebellion shall begin at the date of the death of their husbands and not from the date of filing claims. A bill was also passed and approved increasing to thirty dollars a month the pension for total disability or death, with an act enabling certain volunteer soldiers, denied the \$100 bounty in the act of 1872, to receive the benefit of that act; together with a measure providing for the payment of \$100 a year for each inmate in State and Territorial soldiers' homes. Special pension bills were passed in favor of Mrs. Logan and Mrs. Blair, but the bill in favor of Mrs. Sheridan failed to pass. On May 29, both Houses passed, and the President approved, a bill reviving the grade of General of the Army, so that General Sheridan, then in imminent danger of death, might be appointed.

Bureau
of Labor
Sta-
tistics

Early in the session the President sent a special message to Congress recommending the creation of a National Board of Arbitration. It passed the House, but failed to reach the Senate. On March 21, the House passed a bill to establish a department of labor to be under the control of a commissioner of labor. This was amended and passed. The bill was approved by the President. It was, in effect, merely a reorganization of the existing Bureau of Labor Statistics. This new department of the national government was the

ripened fruit of the little seed planted by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1869, which created, by an act passed in that year, the first Bureau of Statistics of Labor in the world. Under this act the Bureau was directed "to collect, assort, systematize, and present in annual reports to the Legislature, on or before the 1st day of March in each year, statistical details relating to all departments of labor in the commonwealth, especially to the commercial, industrial, social, educational, and sanitary conditions of the laboring classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive industry of the commonwealth. Sixteen years later, in 1885, the United States Department of Labor was organized as one of the bureaus of the Department of the Interior, and Carroll D. Wright, who had conducted the Bureau of Statistics in Massachusetts, was made commissioner. In 1888, it was made into a separate department with independent functions. More than two-thirds of the States have now independent offices similar to that of Massachusetts, most of which issue annual reports. In a number of States, authority has been granted for conciliation and arbitration in labor disputes, by the appointment of special commissioners.

In May, 1887, President Cleveland took part at the unveiling of the memorial statue of President Garfield at Washington, and a little later he was present and participated in the grand ceremonial attending the unveiling of the Bartholdi statue of "Liberty Enlightening the World," in New York harbor.

1887-8

Duties
of the
BureauOrgani-
zation of
Depart-
ment of
LaborMemorial
statues

1887

Cele-
brating
adoption
of the
Consti-
tution

The 100th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States occurred that year, and the city government of Philadelphia issued a call to all patriotic Americans to join with them in a suitable commemoration of the day. On the 16th of September, the President, as the central figure on that occasion, reviewed the great procession gathered in honor of national law and liberty. Two weeks later, he began a Westward tour, visiting various Western and Southern States, returning to Washington about the middle of October.

Appro-
priate
exercises
in Phila-
delphia

On the 15th, 16th, and 17th days of September, 1887, the centennial anniversary of the Constitution was celebrated at Philadelphia with imposing ceremonies. The exercises of each day were arranged and conducted by the Constitutional Centennial Commission, composed of members from each of the States and Territories appointed for this purpose early in the year by the respective governors. There were present the President and other members of the Federal government, the governors and other officers of all the States and Territories, foreign ministers and official dignitaries. The first day was devoted to a grand industrial parade designed to show the progress of the arts and sciences during the century just completed. On the second day, the Federal and State military organizations joined in a parade and were reviewed by the President. The third day was occupied by literary exercises commemorative of the framing of the Constitution, which took

place in Independence Square in the presence of an immense audience. The memorial oration was delivered by the Honorable Samuel F. Miller, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

1887

In this year a convention of the Mormons was held at Salt Lake City for the purpose of inaugurating an agitation for the admission of Utah as a State. It continued in session seven days and drafted a constitution, one of the articles of which declared bigamy and polygamy incompatible with a republican form of government, and each of them was forbidden and declared a misdemeanor. The constitution was submitted to the people and was ratified by a vote of 13,195 to 502. Later it was submitted to Congress, accompanied by a memorial praying for the admission of Utah to the Union.

Mormons
want
State-
hood

In this year an important change in the Indian policy of the government was instituted by the passage of what was known as the General Allotment act, which provided for the naturalization and citizenship of all Indians within the United States. Before the passage of this act, Indians became citizens only by treaty conditions and special acts of Congress, the first treaty being that made with the Cherokees in 1817. In 1820, the Choctaws concluded a treaty providing for the future allotment of their lands east of the Mississippi and for their becoming citizens. The first lands allotted to Indians in severalty were those given to a tribe in Wisconsin authorized by act of Congress March 3, 1839. These Indians,

Change
of policy
regard-
ing
Indians

1887

Indians
as
citizens

on receiving their patents, were declared citizens of the United States. The same policy was followed with several other tribes, but with varying success. No Indian could claim the right of citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment, as its provisions were limited to those only who were born owing no allegiance to any tribal government and bearing the burdens of taxation.

The
reser-
vation
system a
breeder
of trouble

The reservation system has from the first been prolific of trouble, and no efficient remedy has yet been found. The Indian reservations in the United States in 1890 were 138 in number, and combined covered an area of 132,143 square miles. These reservations found place in twenty-three of the States and Territories, no two of them being exactly similar and no two tribes presenting the same conditions. They represented all grades of civilization from the lowest to the highest. The great majority received no help from the government in the way of subsistence, supporting themselves by agriculture, hunting, or simple employments. Other tribes of the untamed order, as the Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Apaches, depend largely upon the government for their support. For years the government had in view the destruction of the reservation system, together with that of tribal organization, by allotting land in severalty to the Indians as they became sufficiently enlightened to accept it.

The first legislative movement in this direction was the act of March 3, 1871, which forbade the future recognition of Indian tribes or nations as

independent powers with which treaties might be entered into, substituting for treaties agreements merely subject to ratification by Congress. On February 8, 1887, what was called the Dawes bill was passed by Congress, made applicable to all reservations except those of the five civilized tribes, three others in Indian Territory, those in the State of New York, and one in Nebraska. By this act the President was authorized to have the lands of Indian reservations surveyed and allotted in severalty. In 1890, the amount was fixed at eighty acres to each Indian without regard to sex or age. With the restriction against alienation for twenty-five years, the Indians receiving land in fee were to be declared American citizens and subject to the laws of the State or Territory in which they resided. The act also provided that surplus lands remaining after allotment would be purchased by the United States and opened to settlement. Under this policy the area of the Indians suffered rapid reduction. In 1890, after the opening of Oklahoma, it aggregated 181,250 square miles, but during that year 26,000,000 acres were ceded by the Indians to the United States. In 1891, 8,165,000 acres were restored to the public domain, and in September, 1893, the Cherokee outlet, or strip, of 6,361,000 acres was opened to settlement under the homestead laws and to disposition as school lands.

1887-93

Pro-
visions
of the
Dawes
billOpening
of lands
to settle-
ment

The first effect of the General Allotment act of 1887 was the immediate admission to citizenship of 10,122 Indians to whom allotments had been

1875-87 made previously under special laws and treaties, and the admission to citizenship of all Indians who had voluntarily taken up their residence apart from their tribes and adopted the habits of civilized life. In 1875, the benefits of the Homestead act were extended to Indians, with provisions against alienation of patents for a period of five years, which was changed by an act in 1884 to twenty-five years. Under the act, the renunciation of tribal relations was made necessary. The laws require that able-bodied Indians between the ages of eighteen and forty-five must labor in order to be entitled to rations, and they yearly receive instructions in farming. If an Indian will go upon an allotment and work to improve it, the government assists him in building a house, gives him a team, agricultural implements, wire for fencing and grain for seeding, with the supervision and counsel of a practical farmer to aid him in the cultivation of his crops. Field matrons are also employed, whose duties are to instruct Indian women in matters of the household, to assist and encourage them in bettering their homes and taking proper care of their children, and to incite in them aspirations for moral and intellectual improvement.

Practical
assist-
ance
given

The legal status of Indians on reservations prior to March 3, 1885, was left to tribal jurisdiction. Since that date, crimes committed are judged and punished by Federal authority. On March 1, 1889, a United States court was established in Indian Territory, having civil as well as

criminal jurisdiction. Later what were called "Courts of Indian Offenses" were authorized and established by Congress. Among the offenses punishable by these courts are the indulgence in the sun, scalp, and war dances; plural marriages, practices of medicine men, sales of women, stealing, and the sale and use of liquor. A system of Indian police was organized in 1878 which is recognized as an indispensable force in the maintenance of order and suppression of crime among the various tribes.

1885-8

Cleveland's administration was remarkable for the number of deaths of distinguished people which occurred during its first two years. Grant, McClellan, and Vice-President Hendricks died in 1885; Hancock, Logan, Hooker, Meade, Governor Seymour, and Tilden died in 1886; Henry Ward Beecher, in 1887; Chief-Justice Waite and Roscoe Conkling, in 1888.

An important incident of the closing year of Cleveland's administration was the Pan-American Congress in the autumn of 1889, which was held at Washington. For many years the United States government had cherished the hope of bringing about closer relations and more friendly feelings between the United States and the leading independent countries of North and South America. Out of that hope these countries were invited to send representatives to meet in friendly conference and consider ways and means for closer business relations and better means of communication between the countries represented.

The Pan-
American
Congress

1888

Admission of
new
States

In the second session of the fiftieth Congress four new States were admitted into the Union: South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington. Congress, also, in this session, organized a new Cabinet department to be called the Department of Agriculture. By this act the Cabinet offices were increased in number to eight instead of seven.

The Republican
platform

On the 5th day of June, 1888, a Democratic National Convention at St. Louis renominated Mr. Cleveland by acclamation, the choice for Vice-President falling upon ex-Senator Allen H. Thurman of Ohio. The Republican National Convention was held in Chicago two weeks later. Its platform, in the main, was much like that of preceding campaigns. It opened with congratulating voters of Irish birth upon the prospect of a peaceful recovery of home rule for Ireland; it pronounced uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; declared hostility to the introduction of cheap foreign contract labor and of Chinese labor, and opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trust or otherwise to control arbitrarily the conditions of trade; it declared in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemned the policy of the Democratic administration in its efforts to demonetize silver; it pledged the party to appropriate legislation for checking the political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories; declared its sympathy with all wise and well-directed efforts for the promotion of temperance and morality; recommended

prompt action in the enactment of such legislation as would best secure the rehabilitation of our American merchant marine; a reduction of letter postage; the construction of an isthmian canal, and the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. It was confidently expected that Blaine would be renominated, but the four years preceding had brought out a serious antagonism to that statesman among prominent members of his own party, and at the last moment it was decided not to present his name as a nominee. The candidates considered were: Senator John Sherman of Ohio, Judge Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois, Chauncey M. Depew of New York, ex-Governor Russell A. Alger of Michigan, ex-Senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, and Senator William B. Allison of Iowa. Eight ballots were taken, and Benjamin Harrison¹ of Indiana was made the nominee, with Levi P. Morton of New York for the second place on the ticket. The Prohibition party held its convention at Indianapolis on the 30th of May, and nominated General Clinton B. Fiske of New Jersey for President, and for the Vice-Presidency, John A. Brookes

1888

Many
strong
candi-
dates

¹ Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third President of the United States, was born at North Bend, Ohio, on the 20th of August, 1833. He was the grandson of William Henry Harrison and great-grandson of Benjamin, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. His boyhood was passed on a farm, and at the age of sixteen he entered Miami University at Oxford, Ohio, and graduated therefrom in 1852. He then began the study of law and settled in Indianapolis. At the outbreak of the war he entered the army, and became, later, brevet brigadier-general of volunteers. After the war he entered politics, and was a candidate, in 1876, of the Republican party for governor of Indiana. In 1881, he was elected to the United States Senate, and became a prominent figure in the discussions of that body. He became President in 1889.

1888-9

Demo-
cratic
and Pro-
hibition
princi-
ples

of Missouri. The Democratic platform declared for a reform of the revenue system in the United States, and reaffirmed the principle of adjusting the tariff on imports with strict regard to the actual needs of governmental expenditure. The principal planks of the Republican platform were for reform of the tariff, but at the same time affirming the maintenance of the protective system. The Prohibitionists rested their campaign on two demands: One, that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited throughout the United States by Constitutional amendment; the other was in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women. The contest was very close, but resulted in favor of the Republican candidate, Harrison receiving 233 electoral votes against 168 for Cleveland. General Fiske, the Prohibition candidate, received nearly 300,000 votes.

Harri-
son's
Cabinet

General Harrison was inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1889. He selected his Cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, James G. Blaine of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom of Minnesota; Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor of Vermont; Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy of New York; Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble of Missouri; for Attorney-General, William H. H. Miller of Indiana; for Secretary of Agriculture, Jeremiah Rusk of Wisconsin. These appointments were immediately confirmed by the Senate.

CHAPTER CXVI.

REPUBLICAN REACTION

President Harrison had already put himself on record on most of the questions of the day, and his first message to Congress contained no surprises. He was a protectionist, a friend of labor, an ardent believer in civil service reform, and an advocate of the liberal pension system. He urged a dignified and manly foreign policy, with a restoration of the merchant service and a strengthening of the navy. "I would," he declared, "like to have our coast defenses made secure. I would like to have our navy made respectable so that an American naval officer, as he trod the deck of the ship bearing the starry banner at its head in any port throughout the world, and looked upon her equipment and ornament and armament, might feel that she was a match for the proudest ship that walked the sea under any other flag. I would like to feel that no third-rate power nor a first-class power could sail into our defenseless harbors and lay our great cities under tribute. I would like to feel that the just claims of the survivors of the Union Army of the war were made secure and safe."

His opinions on the financial question had been expressed on many previous occasions. He demanded a suitable currency of unchanging value;

1889

Harrison's
first
message

Pleads
for navy

1889
April

and had no patience with the continual tinkering with the question by politicians and Congress touching the "fiat" money, the heresy which some time before had agitated the country and in some sections still found supporters.

Celebra-
tion of
Washing-
ton's
in角度-
ration

On the last day of April, hardly two months after the new term began, occurred the great centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington, the first President of the United States. The event was commemorated in many of the States, but the most important ceremonies occurred in New York City, the scene of the first inauguration. It had been determined by a committee that the celebration should confirm as nearly as practicable to the actual installation of Washington. It was arranged that the President should visit New York, pass over the same route by which Washington arrived one hundred years before, be received in like manner, and be presented in Wall Street on the very spot where Washington was inaugurated, and where a centennial oration, commemorative of the progress and glory of the American people, was to be delivered. Two days were devoted to the exercises, the last day of April and the first day of May.

The President, Vice-President, and members of the Cabinet reached Elizabethtown early on the morning of the 29th. At this point a committee met the President and conducted him across the bay in a steamer called the *Despatch*, which had been prepared and decorated for this especial purpose. The harbor was filled with shipping, the



BENJAMIN HARRISON.



LEVI F. MORTON.

vessels of foreign nations in port rivaling in splendor the American craft. The whole city was decorated from the Battery to Harlem. The convoy of the *Despatch* was rowed by twelve retired sea captains. At noon the party landed at the foot of Wall Street and proceeded to the Equitable Insurance Company Building, where the first formal reception of the President occurred. The streets were densely thronged, so that passage even in the side streets was almost impossible. After a lunch the President was conducted to the City Hall, where a platform had been erected on the same place where Lafayette had stood on his visit to New York in 1824. In the evening the President attended the great ball in the Metropolitan Opera-house, which had been prepared in imitation of the Washingtonian ball given on the occasion of the first inauguration, at which the "Father of his Country" led the first cotillion.

1889
April

Presi-
dential
party in
New
York

The formal ceremonies were held the day following. A platform had been erected in front of the Treasury Building on Wall street, which was occupied by the president of the Cabinet committee, the orator of the day. President Harrison occupied the chair which had been used by Washington, and on a table, also belonging to Washington, was the Bible on which the first President had taken the solemn oath of office. Prayer was offered by Dr. Storrs, after which a poem, written for the occasion by Whittier, was read by C. W. Bowen, secretary of the citizens' committee. This was followed by an oration by Mr. Chauncey

Second
day's pro-
ceedings

1889
April-
May

Impres-
sive con-
clusion of
cele-
bration

Depew, after which the President made an able and patriotic address. The exercises were closed with a benediction by Archbishop Corrigan of the archdiocese of New York. A great military parade followed, which was six hours in passing the reviewing-stand which had been erected on the west side of Madison Square. General John M. Schofield, senior major-general of the American Army, rode at the head of the column. In the evening an elaborate banquet was served in the splendidly decorated Metropolitan Opera-house, after which brief addresses were delivered by numerous guests, among them the governor of New York, ex-President Cleveland, ex-President Hayes, General Sherman, Senator Evarts, President Eliot of Harvard, James Russell Lowell, Senator Daniel of Virginia, the closing address being made by the President. During the three days' celebration, business was suspended throughout the city.

Affairs in
Hawaii

In 1883, political disturbances occurred in the Hawaiian Islands, which seriously interfered with American interests. In 1875, a reciprocity treaty had been concluded with Hawaii by the United States government, under which sugar grown in the islands was admitted into this country free of duty. This stimulated the production enormously. American capital flowed into the country, and all the sugar-growing lands passed into the hands of the Americans. The missionaries, through their unselfish labors, had given an enlightened political system to the country. Civilized arts and customs,

industries, commerce, and education had been fostered, and Hawaii was in a way to take her place among the lesser civilized nations of the world.

1883

The King, David Kalakaua, became jealous of the power and influence of the American residents, and had begun to assume extraordinary and unconstitutional powers. He attempted to revive the practice of sorcery among the natives. He removed the ban upon the sale of liquors, and instigated race hatred to such a degree that the situation soon became serious. A native party sprang up whose cry was "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," which brought together, besides the natives, unprincipled white politicians, foreign intriguers against American influence, and unscrupulous speculators. This party obtained a majority in the legislative assembly, and friction at once arose between the King and his ministers, who had been elected by what was called the missionary party. These latter were displaced, and followed by natives who now proceeded to nullify all the laws which had been established for the benefit of society. Besides the repeal of the liquor laws, the market was opened to the importation of opium, which had before been forbidden.

Race
hatred
fomented

Whole-
some
laws ab-
rogated

This was objected to by the American element, which at once formed a secret political society, which brought together the better class of natives and foreigners of every nationality. On a fixed date a large force of these marched upon the palace, and demanded of the King that he appoint

1887-92 a prime minister of their choosing and proclaim a new constitution which they had drafted. This constitution made the ministers responsible to the Legislature, and required every act of the King to be countersigned by one of them. The nobles were made elective under a high property qualification, and foreign white residents were admitted to the franchise. Office-holders were made ineligible to seats in the Legislature. In 1887, when the reciprocity treaty with the United States was renewed, a supplementary section conveyed to the United States the right to use Pearl Harbor as a coaling and repair station for vessels.

Demands made upon the King

Death of Kalakaua

When the American party was formally established in authority, a counter revolution was encouraged by the King for the purpose of restoring the old constitution. The revolutionists seized the palace and government buildings in July, but were driven out by the militia without the loss of a man. Kalakaua died in 1891, and was succeeded by Queen Liliuokalani, who was married to an American by the name of Dominis. She was a woman of shrewdness and education, but of dissolute life, and a believer in the superstitions of the old Hawaiians.

In 1892, the local Legislature, encouraged by the Queen, passed several laws that were obnoxious to the better class of residents, especially one licensing a gigantic lottery, which was considered not only demoralizing to Hawaii, but unfriendly to the United States, which had just suppressed the company now trying to secure

Hawaii as a place for their operations. The American residents, who had taken the leading part in the political and commercial development of the country and were connected with the sugar-planting and other property interests, now took up the project of annexation to the United States, which they had advocated four years before.

1892

Talk of
annex-
ation

On January 14, the Queen signed the Lottery bill, which was denounced as a direct attack on the United States government. The Queen, however, was headstrong, and declared her intention to proclaim a new constitution which would disfranchise aliens and transfer the power of making nobles from the white voters back to the Crown. Her ministers refused to countersign the constitution, when she threatened to promulgate it by force. The Attorney-General advised the ministers to declare the Queen in revolution and the throne vacant. On hearing this, she withdrew her determination and signed a proclamation in which she said that she had yielded to pressure put upon her by her native subjects, and that any changes in the fundamental law of the land would be sought only by methods provided in the constitution.

Attitude
of the
Queen

On that same date a meeting of prominent citizens came together and appointed a Committee of Public Safety to consider the situation and devise ways and means for the maintenance of the public peace and the protection of life and property. Two days later, mass-meetings were held by the opposing parties. During the excitement the man-of-war *Boston*, Captain C. Wiltse, arrived in

Opposing
mass-
meetings

1892

The
mon-
archy
over-
thrown

the harbor of Honolulu. The Committee of Safety appealed to Captain Wiltse and asked him to land marines and sailors for the protection of the United States legation and the United States Consulate, and to secure the safety of American life and property. Troops were immediately sent on shore, and quartered in one of the public buildings of the city. On the 17th the committee issued a proclamation ending with the following declaration: "We, citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands, organized and acting for the public safety and the public good, hereby proclaim as follows: The Hawaiian monarchical system of government is hereby abrogated. A provisional government for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace we hereby establish, to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon."

Pro-
visional
govern-
ment rec-
ognized

Minister Stevens now formally recognized the provisional government as the de facto government of the country, such government being in possession of the Departmental Building, the Archives, the Treasury, and in control of the city, with officials at the head of the respective departments. Minister Stevens, in his report to the government, thus describes the condition on the day of the revolution:

"I was completely taken by surprise at what the Queen, the Palace associates and lottery gang had accomplished in ten days. The remonstrances of the Chamber of Commerce, of the numerous petitions of some of the best people of the

island, both whites and natives, and the earnest pleadings of those who had previously adhered to the monarchy, had been defiantly disregarded. I found the city in great excitement, and learned that for many hours there had been an anxious desire for the return of the *Boston*, and this desire was strong among the thoughtful subordinates of the monarchy as well as among the great body of the responsible citizens. The surging, irresistible tide of revolution was then obvious to all persons not willfully blind. The mob of royal retainers were already gathering at the Palace to aid the Queen to carry out her plan of overturning the constitution."

1892

Minister
Stevens'
report

After the recognition of the United States minister, an interview was had with the Queen, who was informed that she had been deposed and a provisional government established, and she was asked to sign an abdication. At first she refused, but at last gave way and signed the paper, reserving all her rights under the constitution, protesting against the measures taken, declaring that she yielded "to the superior force of the United States of America." As soon as this was done, the provisional government was formally recognized by the French, British, Portuguese, and Japanese representatives.

The
Queen
abdicates
under
protest

The trouble did not end here, however. There was a strong party opposed to annexation to the United States, and the situation seemed so dangerous that the new rulers felt unable to cope with it unsupported. They asked, therefore, for the direct assistance of the United States government for the preservation of public security and order. In response to their appeal, United States Minister

Appeal
for pro-
tection

1892 Stevens and Captain Wiltse decided to establish a protectorate over the islands. The flag of the United States was raised on February 1, and the United States minister issued the following proclamation:

The min-
ister's
procla-
mation

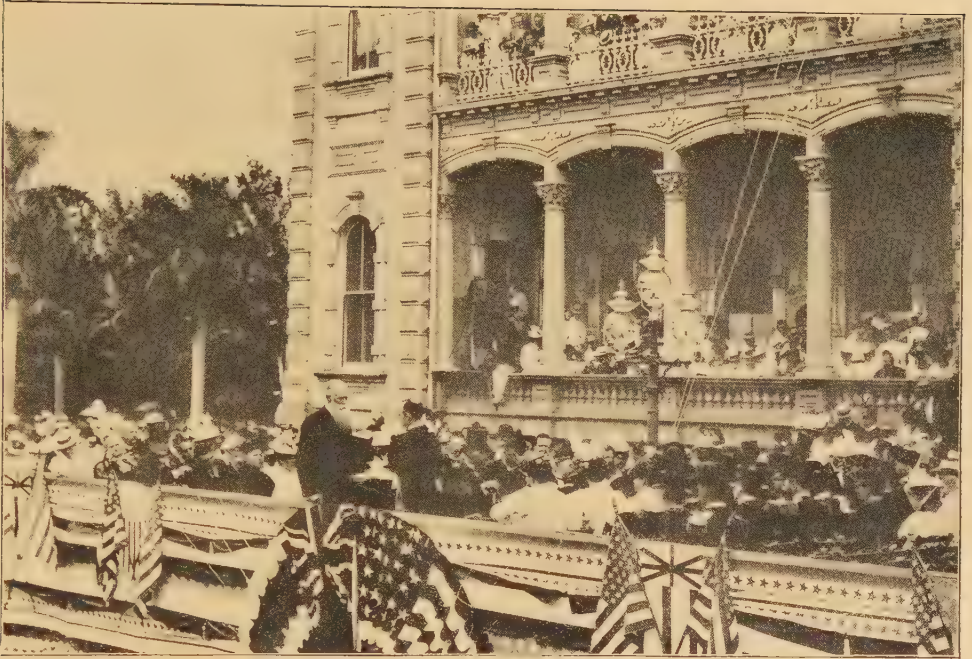
"At the request of the provisional government of the Hawaiian Islands, I hereby, in the name of the United States of America, assume protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the protection of life and property, and the occupation of public buildings and Hawaiian soil so far as may be necessary for the purpose specified, but not interfering with the administration of public affairs by the provisional government. This action is taken pending and subject to negotiations at Washington."

Pro-
tectorate
dis-
avowed

When these facts became known at Washington, the Secretary of State disavowed the minister's action so far as it implied the establishment of a protectorate, or so far as it impaired in any way the independent sovereignty of the Hawaiian government by substituting the flag and the power of the United States as the symbol and manifestation of paramount authority.

Treaty
con-
cluded

On the 19th of January, commissioners appointed by the provisional government, sailed for San Francisco, taking with them the draft of a treaty of annexation. They arrived February 3, and discussed the treaty with the Secretary of State. Other interviews took place, and at the last, on the 14th, the treaty was formally concluded. It provided that the existing government and laws of Hawaii should continue subject to the paramount authority of the United States until



TRANSFER OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF HAWAII, AT HONOLULU.



HARBOR AT HONOLULU, HAWAII.

Congress should determine otherwise; that a resident commissioner should be appointed with power to veto any act of the government; that the existing foreign and commercial relations should be continued; that further immigration of Chinese should be prohibited, and that the Chinese in Hawaii should not be permitted to enter the United States; that the public debt, amounting to \$3,250,000, should be assumed, and that an annual allowance of \$20,000 should be paid to the Queen and a lump sum of \$150,000 to the Queen's daughter, Princess Kaulani.

1892

Terms
of the
treaty

Among the documents accompanying the treaty as it was submitted to Congress was a letter from the deposed Queen to President Harrison, asking that no action should be taken until her side could be properly presented. The treaty came before the Senate for action on February 15. It was accompanied by a special message from the President in which he said:

Queen
asks
delay

"The United States in no way prompted the overthrow of the monarchy, which originated in what seems to have been a reactionary revolution against the policy of Queen Liliuokalani, imperiling foreign interests. It is evident that the monarchy was effete and that the Queen's government has been used by designing persons. The restoration of the monarchy is undesirable, if not impossible. It is essential that none of the other great powers shall secure the islands, as this would be inconsistent with our safety and the peace of the world."

Presi-
dent's
message

The President also stated that no foreign government had objected to the proposed annexation,

1889 and that prompt action was desirable. Assurances from the leading powers and from American ministers abroad convinced him that annexation on the part of the United States would be regarded with satisfaction. No action had been taken upon the treaty at the expiration of President Harrison's term, and it was withdrawn for future consideration by President Cleveland on his accession.

Trouble
with
Germany
over
Samoa

Early in 1889, unexpected complications arose between the United States and Germany which came near resulting in war. The inciting cause was the troubles in the Samoan Islands, the civil affairs of which, during the year 1888, were thrown into confusion by an insurrection against the established government. In 1878, a treaty had been signed at Washington, by which the United States secured the right to establish at Pango Pango a station for coal and naval supplies, with freedom of trade, commercial treatment as a favored nation, and to consular jurisdiction over citizens of the United States. In the following year, King Malietoa made a perpetual treaty of amity and commerce with Germany, and by a special clause confirmed the grants to all lands acquired by Germany, and absolved himself from further interference with regard to their lands, plantations, wharves, and houses.

Germany
favored
in treaty

In 1880, civil war broke out, the end of which found Malietoa still in power, and recognized in a proclamation signed by the American, British, and German consuls as the rightful sovereign. Various complications ensued, arising from the

determination of the German government to gain possession of the islands. In 1884, the acting German consul by force compelled Malietoa to sign a treaty creating a state council consisting of the German consul, two Germans designated by him, and two Samoans. Malietoa signed the treaty, but sent a protest to the German Emperor, complaining that it was wrung from him by intimidation and that the German consul was continually stirring up rebellion. The King offered the sovereignty of the island to the United States in order to escape German domination. Deliberate measures were taken by the Germans to force Malietoa to armed opposition. The King appealed to the English and American consuls to proclaim an American protectorate temporarily by virtue of the supposed promise of the United States to extend protection in the event of difficulties with foreign powers. This was done, and the protectorate established.

1884-7

Pro-
tectorate
over
Samoa

The German government now determined to depose Malietoa, and in August, 1887, a German fleet arrived at Apia, the principal port of the island, demanding a payment of \$12,000 as damages for many alleged injuries. King Malietoa asked time to consult with his chiefs. This was refused, and an armed force of German marines seized the government house, raised the German flag, and declared war, proclaiming as king the rival chief Tamasese. The American consul-general and the British Board consul now joined in a declaration that the American and

Germany
declares
war on
Malietoa

1887-9

Protests
by
British
and
American
consuls

British governments would not recognize the new ruler, but would continue to support Malietoa as king. Malietoa was seized by the Germans and taken to Cameroons, and afterwards to Germany as a state prisoner. A large number of his chiefs and followers were banished to distant islands. Protests of the American and British consuls were of no avail, though the German officers promised to respect the neutrality of the municipal district of Apia as long as the German troops were unmolested therein. A joint proclamation advised submission until the case could be acted upon by the three governments interested.

Martial
law pro-
claimed

It soon became evident that Germany intended to annex Samoa. Secretary Bayard, in communicating his views of the policy of the United States in the Pacific for the guidance of the ministers at London and Berlin, refused to recognize such a right of the German government, but, in the mean time, the German authorities had proclaimed martial law and assumed complete authority in the island. All vessels were searched, and American goods were not allowed to land unless sent to German warehouses for examination. Houses were searched for firearms, and American residents were roughly handled. An American newspaper correspondent took refuge on board the United States steamer *Nipsic*, the captain of which refused to surrender him to be tried before a military tribunal on the demand of the German naval commander. These events led to correspondence between the governments of Germany and the



MALIETOA.



VIEW OF APIA. SAMOA.

United States, the latter taking so firm a stand that Germany at last gave way and consented to a conference. President Harrison appointed, with the advice of the Senate, an embassy to go to Berlin and meet Prince Bismarck in the conference, with a view to a peaceful solution of the difficulty. The demand of the American government was that the independence of Samoa under its native sovereign should be acknowledged and guaranteed by England, Germany, and the United States. This demand was acceded to, and the conference closed in May, 1889, with the restoration of King Malietoa and the recognition of his sovereignty over the island.

1889-91

King
Malietoa
restored

Two months before this decision was reached, the most violent hurricane ever known in the South Pacific drove several German war vessels upon a reef outside of the harbor of Apia. Three American warships, the *Nipsic*, *Trenton*, and *Vall-dea*, were utterly wrecked. Three German vessels were also lost, while the English vessel *Calliope*, the only warship which escaped, was saved by steaming out to sea. Fifty American officers and men were lost, and a hundred went down with the German ships.

Dis-
astrous
hurri-
cane

In 1891, trouble broke out with the Chilian government. A revolution took place in Chili in that year, and the American minister took sides with the Chilian President. This aroused the anger of the revolutionists, who had the sympathies of the majority of the people. A Chilian cruiser in the service of the revolutionists was

Revolu-
tion in
Chili

1891-2

Mob
attacks
sailors

seized in a Californian port by a United States marshal because she was thought to be sailing with a supply of arms in contravention of the United States laws. The cruiser escaped, but was afterwards obliged to surrender to a United States ship in a Chilian port. The people of the town were infuriated at this, and a mob attacked some sailors from an American ship of war, killing two of them and injuring eighteen others. A demand was at once made by this government for satisfaction, which was rendered by a disavowal of the act and the payment of damages.

The Aus-
tralian
ballot
system

The Australian ballot system was introduced into thirty-seven of the States during Harrison's administration. By this system, which now obtains in all the States, freedom of choice is secured and the opportunities for the manipulation of the ballot in the interests of corruption are greatly diminished.

The
Home-
stead
strike

In 1892 occurred the great Homestead strike, which grew out of a demand for higher wages by the workmen. In the summer of that year the Carnegie Steel Company at Homestead, Pennsylvania, decided upon a reduction of the rates of compensation for certain grades of work. Great excitement followed, and a shut-down was ordered by the company. Later the works were reopened with non-union men. A sympathetic strike took place. All the iron workers of Pittsburg and vicinity quit work, and so threatening did the troubles become that the State militia was ordered out and with difficulty order was restored.

One of the notable events in 1889 was the destruction of the village of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, by the bursting of an immense reservoir at the foot of the Conemaugh Mountains, a few miles above. This reservoir had been constructed by a company of wealthy sportsmen for fishing purposes. It was formed in a gulch by a dam across the south fork of the Conemaugh. Its normal size was about three miles in length, varying in depth from fifty to a hundred feet, and was much higher than the valley below. The city of Johnstown, with a population of more than 25,000, was situated at the junction of the south fork with the main river. Late in May heavy rains fell for several days in succession, swelling the brooks and tributaries of the rivers to raging torrents. The lake became full to overflowing, and on the afternoon of the last day of May the dam burst, and a torrent of water twenty feet high rushed down the course of the stream, inundating the country, sweeping everything before it. The city was destroyed, the houses being swept from both sides of the stream, and an immense heap of wreckage was piled against the railway bridge below the town, where it caught fire. More than 2000 people perished in the flood or were burned to death in the ruins.

1889

The Cone-
maugh
ValleySwept by
a raging
flood

Among the more important acts of Congress during Harrison's administration was the Agricultural College act, which appropriated to each State and Territory, an annual sum of \$25,000 from the sales of public lands. This amount was to be

1889

Passage
of Agri-
cultural
College
act

used for more complete endowment and maintenance of colleges offering courses in agriculture and the mechanic arts; was to be applied only to instruction in agriculture, the mechanic arts, the English language, the various branches of mathematical, physical, natural, and economic sciences, with special reference to their application to the industries of life and to increase the facilities for such instruction. The bill provided that no distinction of race or color was to be made in the admission of students, but the maintenance of separate colleges for white or colored students should be permitted, and the funds should be equally divided.

Anti-
trust
measures

In the first session of the fifty-first Congress a bill was reported which declared every contract or combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, to be illegal, and that any person or persons who should make such contract, or engage in any such combination or conspiracy, should be punished by fine not exceeding \$5,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding one year, or by both, said punishments to be in the discretion of the court. The bill, consisting of eight sections, was sweeping in its character and passed both Houses without a division.

During the same session the Land Grant Forfeiture bill was enacted, which gave the government power to resume the title to all lands which had been granted in any State or to any corporation to aid in the construction of a railroad opposite to and coterminous with the portion of any

such railroad not completed at that date and in operation, for the construction or benefit of which lands were granted, and that all such lands should be considered to be a part of the public domain. It was provided, however, that all persons, who were actual settlers in good faith on any of the forfeited lands, on making due claim under the homestead law within six months, would be entitled to the first right to enter the same under the provisions of the homestead law.

1890

Reclama-
tion of
public
lands

In the way of pension legislation, a bill was passed March 4, 1890, providing that all soldiers, sailors, and marines who were on the 16th day of January, 1880, or who might subsequently thereto become totally and permanently helpless from injuries received or diseases contracted in service and line of duty so as to require the aid and attendance of another person, should be entitled to receive a pension at the rate of \$72 a month from the date of the passage of the act. Another bill, known as the "Dependent Parents and Disability Act," was passed after considerable discussion. Early in the session, a bill was introduced directing the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase from time to time silver bullion to the aggregate amount of 4,500,000 ounces, or as much as might be afforded in each month at the market price, not exceeding \$1 for 371.25 grains of pure silver, and to issue in payment for such amounts of silver bullion, Treasury notes of the United States in denominations of not less than \$1 nor more than \$1000. The consideration of this bill occupied the

Pension
legis-
lationPurchase
of silver
bullion

1892 attention of Congress during the most of the session. The bill was tossed back and forth between the two Houses, loaded in each with amendments, but was finally passed by a strict party vote. Another act was passed prohibiting the further coinage of the \$3 gold piece, the \$1 gold piece, and the three-cent nickel piece.

Tolls on
northern
water-
ways

In 1892, there was friction with the Canadian government, which proposed the imposition of tolls over the waterways connecting the Great Lakes with the St. Lawrence River. In July of that year a bill was enacted that when the passage through any canal or lake connected with the navigation of the St. Lawrence River or the Great Lakes, or the passage between them, should be obstructed by such tolls, the President should suspend by proclamation the free passage of Canadian vessels through the St. Mary's Falls Canal. No occasion, however, arose for the enforcement of the act.

Exclu-
sion of
Chinese

On May 5, 1892, a Chinese exclusion act was passed prohibiting and regulating the coming into this country of Chinese persons, and persons of Chinese descent, for ten years from its passage. Under its provisions any Chinese adjudged to be not lawfully entitled to remain in the United States should be removed to China, unless it should appear that the person in question was a subject or citizen of some other country, in which case he should be removed to such other country.

In August of the same year an act was passed restricting to eight hours the working-day of all the

laborers and mechanics employed by the government or the District of Columbia, or any contractor or sub-contractor upon any public work of the United States or the District, and making it unlawful for officers of the United States government or the District, or any contractor or sub-contractor, to require or permit any laborer or mechanic to work more than eight hours in any calendar day, except in case of extraordinary emergency. At the same time a provision was incorporated in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act that no employee of the Pinkerton Detective Agency or any similar agency should be employed in any government service or by any officer of the District of Columbia.

1889-92

Working-day reduced to eight hours

Among the miscellaneous bills of this year were several relating to the prospective World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, for free postal delivery, the census, and monetary affairs. During the year 1891, reciprocity treaties were announced with Brazil, Santo Domingo, Spain, and Salvador. In 1892, like treaties were proclaimed with Germany, Great Britain, Nicaragua, Hayti, Honduras, Guatemala, and Austria Hungary.

Reciprocity treaties

In 1889, that part of Indian Territory called Oklahoma was opened to settlement. There had been a great pressure to open this reservation, and trouble with the Inians was threatened, which was avoided by the government purchasing it from the Indians in that year. April 22 was appointed for the day of occupation, and before night several thousand persons had staked out claims and taken

Oklahoma thrown open

1892 steps to form a local government. Before the year closed, the Territory had nearly 60,000 people.

The
Sherman
act

In 1890, Congress passed the so-called Sherman act, which provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase not less than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion each month, and pay for it by issuing Treasury notes, which were legal tender for all debts and redeemable in gold or silver coin at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. Under the provisions of this bill, the purchase of silver was increased, but its coinage was no longer made compulsory.

Harrison
renom-
inated

The tenth Republican National Convention met at Minneapolis, June 7, 1892, with William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, as permanent chairman. There was nothing new in the platform, and "the able, patriotic, and thoroughly American administration of President Harrison" was endorsed. The candidates were James G. Blaine of Maine and President Harrison, who was strongly supported for reëlection and was nominated on the first ballot, with Whitelaw Reid of New York for Vice-President.

Demo-
cratic
National
Con-
vention

Two weeks later, June 21, the Democratic National Convention met at Chicago. It declared the country in a state of danger, and warned the people that the policy of the Republican party was fraught with the gravest perils "scarcely less momentous than would result from a revolution practically established on the ruins of the republic." It denounced Republican protection "as the fraud and robbery of the great majority of the

American people for the benefit of the few." It declared the McKinley tariff law enacted by the fifty-first Congress as the "culminating atrocity of class legislation." The Sherman act was pronounced "a cowardly makeshift fraught with possible dangers in the future," and the Democratic party was said to be the only party that had ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home. Grover Cleveland was nominated for the head of the ticket on the first ballot, receiving 617 votes, ten more than was necessary for a choice. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was nominated by acclamation for Vice-President.

1892

Democ-
ratic
candi-
dates

The People's Party Convention met at Omaha, Nebraska, on July 2. Its platform was a pronouncement of union labor principles and a demand for a free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold; a graduated income tax; the government ownership of the railroads, telegraphs, and telephone systems; a restriction of undesirable immigration; an eight-hour law, and a limitation of revenues to the necessary expenses of the government. James B. Weaver of Iowa was nominated for President, and James G. Field of Virginia for the second place on the ticket.

Platform
of the
People's
party

The Prohibition Convention met at Cincinnati on June 29. It declared for the entire suppression, by Federal and State legislation, of the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation, and transportation of alcoholic liquor as a beverage; for woman suffrage; for a law making gold, silver, and paper

Prohibi-
tion prin-
ciples

1892-3 legal tender; for government control of railroad, telegraph, and other public-service corporations; for arbitration in the settlement of national differences, and for public schools taught in the English language. John Bidwell of California was nominated for President.

Socialist Labor Convention On the 28th of August, the Socialist Labor Convention met in New York, and nominated for President, Simon Wing of Massachusetts.

Cleveland
succeeds
Harrison

The campaign was exceptionally free from bitterness. The candidates of the two great parties had already served the country satisfactorily as chief executive. The result of the elections was favorable to the Democrats, and Mr. Cleveland was elected as the successor to President Harrison. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1893, with Adlai Stevenson as Vice-President, the latter assuming the Presidency of the Senate in succession to Levi P. Morton. The President selected his Cabinet as follows: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont of New York; Attorney-General, Richard Olney of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hillary A. Herbert of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith of Georgia; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton of Nebraska. These appointments were at once confirmed by the Senate.

His
Cabinet



GROVER CLEVELAND.

CHAPTER CXVII.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

In his inaugural address, Mr. Cleveland urged the necessity of maintaining a sound, stable currency, and pledged the executive branch of government to exert all its power to uphold the national credit and avert financial disaster. He promised also to use all proper means for the reform of the tariff, and declared that the necessity for revenue to support the government furnished the only justification for taxing the people. He condemned the prevailing disposition to accept direct individual advantages in the form of public offices, and asserted that paternalism should have no place in a republican form of government. He also condemned bounties and subsidies and reckless pension expenditures.

The compulsory purchase of silver bullion under the Sherman act, and the issue thereon of notes redeemable in coin with the maintenance in circulation of nearly \$350,000,000 in greenbacks, had imposed a burden upon the Treasury difficult to bear. The decline in the market price of silver brought the intrinsic value of a dollar of that metal down to sixty-seven cents, while the gold reserved in the Treasury fell below \$100,000,000. A large amount of government securities was held

1893

State-
ment of
policy

Effect
of the
Sherman
act

1893

Monetary
panic

abroad, and the holders of these made heavy sales in the American market. In consequence, a disastrous panic broke upon the country, with the usual results of commercial failures, the closing of manufacturing establishments and curtail of production.

On the 30th of June, the President issued a call for a special session of the fifty-third Congress, the reasons for which were set forth as follows:

Reasons
for
special
session

"WHEREAS, The distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation which pervade all business circles have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threatened to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufacture, bring distrust and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor; and whereas the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress;

"Now, therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, in performance of a Constitutional duty, do, by this proclamation, declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the convening of both Houses of Congress of the United States to the end that the people may be relieved through legislation from present and impending danger and disaster."

Tenor of
special
message

In a special message sent to Congress on the day of its meeting, August 7, he charged the conditions alluded to as due to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the general government. The monthly purchase by the government, enforced under the statute of July 14, 1890, had been regarded by the preceding Congress as a certain guarantee of its increase

in price. He declared that the result had been the exact opposite, and that the price of silver began to fall immediately after the passage of the act, and at that time had reached the lowest point ever known. This matter, he asserted, rose above the plane of party politics. It concerned every business and calling and entered into every household in the land.

1893

Import-
ance of a
change

Congress at once set at work on the settlement of the silver question. After a long and bitter struggle, during which every trick and subterfuge known in the domain of politics was exhausted, the so-called Sherman act was repealed and a substitute bill enacted which declared it to be the policy of the United States to continue the use of both gold and silver as standard money, and to coin both gold and silver into money of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value, such equality to be secured through international agreement or by such safe course of legislation as would insure the maintenance of the parity in value of the coins of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar at all times in the markets and in the payment of debts. The bill further declared that the efforts of the government should be steadily directed to the establishment of such a safe system of bimetalism as would insure public confidence in the value and legal tender quality of every dollar put forth by the government of the United States.

Repeal
of the
Sherman
act

On the 4th of October, the Chinese exclusion act was again brought up, and an amendment offered

1893-4 extending the time in which Chinese persons then in the United States might register and obtain certificates of residence. The census showed that there were over 105,000 Chinese in the United States, only 13,242 of these having registered and obtained certificates of residence under the act of the year before, leaving 93,445 who had failed to avail themselves of the privilege of said act. Assuming that 10 per cent. of these would be entitled to exemption as teachers, students, merchants, and persons traveling for curiosity, there would still remain about 85,000 that would be liable to deportation under the law. The average cost of transportation from San Francisco to Hong Kong would be \$85 per capita. If, therefore, all Chinese persons who had failed to register should be transported to China, the cost involved would amount to \$7,310,000. By extending the time, a majority, probably, of the unregistered Chinese could comply with the law and save millions of dollars to the government. The bill was fought by the California and Oregon Senators, but passed November 3 and was approved by the President.

The
Chinese
Exclu-
sion act

Change
of its
terms

New
treaty
with
China

In the second year of Cleveland's administration, a new treaty with China was concluded which absolutely prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers, while allowing the return of any registered Chinese laborer who had a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property or debts due to the amount of \$1000, provided he had deposited with the collector of customs before leaving the United States a description of his

family, property, or debts, and received a certificate of his right to return. Chinese officials, teachers, students, merchants, or travelers for curiosity or pleasure, were allowed to enter the United States on producing the certificate from their government, or the government under which they last resided, and Chinese laborers, or Chinese of any class residing in the country, should have all the rights and privileges given to citizens of the most favored nation, excepting the right of naturalization.

1893-4

Terms of
the
treaty

The most important work of the second session of the fifty-third Congress was the passage of an act to reduce taxation and to provide revenue for the government for various purposes. It was known as the Wilson act from its having been reported by Mr. Wilson of West Virginia, from the Committee on Ways and Means. It provided for free raw sugar, free wool, free coal, free lumber, free iron ore, and made important reductions on the duties on many other articles. In the seven preceding Congresses tariff reform had been the chief subject of political debate and of political controversy in every Congressional district and in the public press. The bill passed both Houses, and became a law without the President's signature. The seventy-third section of the bill dealt with the subject of trusts, and declared that every combination, conspiracy, trust, agreement, or contract contrary to public policy was illegal and void when the same was made by or between two or more persons or corporations, either of whom was engaged

Tariff
modified
by new
actAttacks
the
trusts

1894

in importing any article from any foreign country into the United States, and when such combination was intended to operate in restraint of lawful trade or free competition in lawful trade or commerce, or to increase the market price in any part of the United States on any article or articles imported, or of any manufacture into which such imported article entered or was intended to enter.

Precari-
ous
condition
of money
market

The unprecedented condition of the money market from June to September in this year called for extraordinary remedies, not only to avert general disaster to the banks, but to prevent commercial ruin. After very careful consideration by the associated banks of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, it was decided that the exigency made necessary a resort to the issuing of clearing-house loan certificates for the purpose of settling clearing-house balances. The expedient was not a new one. It had been successfully resorted to during the panics of 1873 and 1884. The service of these certificates was invaluable. Their issue saved many monetary institutions and commercial establishments from failure.

Commis-
sioner to
Hawaii

Three days after his accession, March 7, 1893, President Cleveland sent James H. Blount of Georgia to Hawaii as a special commissioner to investigate the facts attending the subversion of the constitutional government and the installment of the provisional government, and to report as to the expediency of annexation. Commissioner Blount arrived at Honolulu on March 27. He was introduced to Mr. Sanford B. Dole, provisional

president, the day after his arrival, but refused to accept the courtesy tendered to him by the president or by organizations in favor of annexation. Two days after his arrival he ordered the protectorate terminated, the American flag hauled down, and ordered the withdrawal of the garrison of marines and the ships. Minister Stevens urged the necessity of keeping the troops on shore to prevent disturbance, but without avail. Mr. Blount wrote to President Cleveland that a majority of the people of the island were opposed to annexation; Minister Stevens was recalled, and Mr. Blount appointed in his place.

In September, Albert S. Willis of Kentucky was appointed minister to Hawaii to succeed Mr. Blount. There was an excited state of public feeling in Honolulu after his arrival, when it became known that the President intended to restore the Queen's government. The provisional government had, during the summer, imported a supply of machine guns, repeating rifles, and ammunition in anticipation of a conflict, and the military forces had been increased until 1100 men were under arms. The government building had, in the mean time, been converted into a fortress. The friends of the provisional government declared they would fight if the naval forces of the United States should be used to restore the Queen. The Executive Council presented the declaration to Minister Willis that the government would resist with military force any attempt on the part of the United States to overthrow its authority.

1893

Hawaiian
pro-
tectorate
endedMilitary
activity
in the
islands

1893-4

Queen
refuses
con-
ditions

But the President's proposal to restore the Queen was coupled with conditions. She was required to pursue a magnanimous course by granting full amnesty to all who participated in the movement against her, including persons who were or had been favored or otherwise connected with the provisional government, depriving them of no right or privilege which they enjoyed before the so-called revolution, and that all obligations granted by the provisional government in due course of administration should be assumed. The Queen refused to accept these conditions, declaring that nothing but the execution of the members of the provisional government and banishment of their families would be consented to. This refusal at once checked the President's plan for the Queen's restoration, and he turned the matter over to Congress with the assurance that he would be much gratified to coöperate in any legislative plan which might be devised for the solution of the problem which was consistent with the American honor, integrity, and morality.

Matter
left to
CongressRepublic
estab-
lished

In the spring of 1894, the provisional government called a convention for the adoption of a constitution. Assembling on the 31st of May, a new constitution was adopted on June 30 by a majority of the convention, establishing the Republic of Hawaii. The idea of annexation was by no means laid aside, and the leaders believed that under a permanent form of government means could be very easily adopted for bringing about the desired end.

Two notable events occurred in 1893—the celebration in New York City of the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, and the great Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The first event was originally intended to have inaugurated a series of celebrations which were to have culminated with the World's Fair at Chicago.

1893

Two
great
occa-
sions

In 1890, Congress passed an act extending an invitation to the great nations of the world to join in an international naval display to be held in New York Harbor beginning April 26, 1893. The reviewing fleet gathered in Hampton Roads two days before that date under the command of Rear-Admiral Gherardi, the senior officer in the United States Navy. All the available warships on the coast had been called together, while the leading foreign nations were represented by some of their finest vessels. Those which attracted special attention were three Spanish caravels, built especially for the occasion by the Spanish government, representing as nearly as possible the original vessels with which Columbus made his voyage. They bore the same names as the original fleet, the *Santa Maria*, *Nina*, and *Pinta*. The day before the celebration, the caravels were towed to their places in the Hudson, where they formed the head of the line. Behind them was placed the American fleet, the flagship *Philadelphia* leading.

Celebra-
tion in
New York
harbor

On the morning of Wednesday, April 26, the ceremonies began with the unveiling of the monument raised to the memory of Captain Ericsson, which was followed by a salute of twenty-one guns.

1893
April

Great
naval
display

The combined fleets then entered the harbor in double column and sailed up the Hudson, anchoring off Eighty-eighth street. The following nations were represented in the fleet: Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Russia, Brazil, Holland, Italy, and the Argentine Republic. The next day, April 27, was observed as a legal holiday throughout the State. It had been arranged that the combined fleet was to be reviewed by President Cleveland, for which purpose he came from Washington with his Cabinet, accompanied by most of the members of Congress. The *Dolphin* had been selected as the reviewing boat, and carried the President with his party. This was followed by the *Blake*, on board of which were the diplomatic corps; then came the *Monmouth* with the guests of the city, including Congressmen and officers of the army and navy; following was the *General Meigs*, with the Duke of Veragua and his attendants.

Recep-
tion to
the Pres-
ident

The reviewing party entered midway between the two lines of warships, and, as they approached, the band on each vessel played the national air of the country to which it belonged, the officers and marine guards saluting, the sailors manning the yards, facing the reviewing ship. As the *Dolphin* passed, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired by each vessel in honor of the President. After the review, the *Dolphin* anchored and a reception was held, the officers from the various vessels reporting on board. After the reception, the President returned to the city. The day had been threatening and rainy, and at night the river was dark with fog.

Then occurred one of the grandest sights of the celebration. At a given signal every vessel in the fleet opened its search-lights, and made everything in the vicinity as light as day. Following came the illumination with colored lights. Later in the evening, a grand ball was held in Madison Square Garden, given by the city. The mayor received his guests, which included the President, the governor of the State, the Duke of Veragua, the special representative of the Spanish government, besides the foreign officers and prominent residents of the city. On Friday, the 28th, the celebration was continued by a grand parade. This was headed by the governor of the State with his staff, escorted by New York troops and followed by carriages with the commanding officers of the foreign and United States vessels. Then followed, in four battalions, a brigade of sailors and marines from the United States war vessels; a second division, including the foreign marines and sailors from the visiting warships, and finally the national guard of the State. More than 12,000 men were in line. The procession was reviewed from a stand in front of City Hall. In the evening a formal banquet was given by the New York Chamber of Commerce to the visiting naval officers.

From this celebration, President Cleveland hastened to the opening of the greater one in Chicago on the first day of May. Here, as in the New York celebration, the opening day was made a legal holiday. The World's Columbian Exposition opened with the usual ceremonies. A grand

1893
April

A pano-
rama of
color

The last
day's
cere-
monies

The Co-
lumbian
Expo-
sition

1893

Auspi-
cious
opening
of the
World's
Fair

procession, headed by the military and including the President, Vice-President, the commissioners, director-general, and all the officers of the Exposition, moved to the platform which extended across the whole front of the Administration Building, where the opening exercises were to take place. These began with the "Columbian March," composed for the occasion by John K. Paine, rendered by an orchestra of 600 pieces, led by Theodore Thomas. The Reverend H. Milburne, the blind chaplain of the United States Senate, offered a prayer, after which Director-General George R. Davis made an address in which he gave the history of the growth and development of the Exposition. President Cleveland made a brief address, at the close of which he touched the electric button that set in motion the machinery of the fair. The orchestra then burst forth with a halleluiah chorus, and afterwards gave the national hymn "America," in which thousands of voices joined.

Chicago
Day the
greatest

One feature of the fair was the setting aside of certain days devoted to the various States and the national organizations, each of which was honored with special ceremonies. The greatest of these days was that devoted to Chicago. This was celebrated on the 9th of October, the twenty-second anniversary of the great fire. On that day, when the returns were made up, it was found that 716,881 persons had paid their way into the grounds. The first event of the day was commemorative of the early history of Chicago. Simon

Pokagon, whose father owned the land upon which Chicago is built, was present and stood beside the Columbian bell with uncovered head in the dress of the white man. By his side stood Chief John Young, who came from the Pottawatomie reservation in Michigan. He was dressed as his people dressed a century before, his face, body, and limbs being painted in various gaudy colors, with a head-dress of feathers and a breach-clout of beaded buckskin. At noon Mayor Harrison rang the new liberty bell, which performance was accompanied by the sound of trumpets and crash of drums by the united bands, and a chorus of 2000 voices sang the "Star-spangled Banner" and the hymns of the various nations. At two o'clock the reunion of the States took place on the Plaza, facing the Court of Honor. This was one of the most attractive features of the day. In the evening a procession of floats was arranged, illustrating the arts, sciences, peace, war, Chicago, and the nations, followed by a grand display of fireworks, made especially and at great expense for the occasion.

The Columbian Fair was opened to the public 179 days, the number of paid admissions at that time being 21,477,218. This did not include the exhibitors and pass-holders. With these added, the admissions were 27,529,400. During the fair, of this vast number of visitors only 845 arrests were made. Of these, 297 were arrested for stealing from exhibitors and were released on paying for the goods they had taken. A number were arrested for attempting to gain admission to the

1893

Features
of
Chicago
Day

The total
attend-
ance

1893

Financial
showing
of the fair

grounds on fraudulent passes, and 143 were arrested as suspicious characters and removed from the grounds. The value of the property reported stolen was \$32,988, of which \$31,875 worth was recovered and returned to the owners, making the entire loss during the Exposition of only a little over \$1000. The total cash receipts of the Exposition from all sources were \$33,290,065; the disbursements were \$31,117,353. Medals were awarded to 23,757 exhibitors. Over 250,000 separate exhibits were examined and reported upon. There were 65,422 exhibitors. As a matter of course, there was considerable adverse criticism as to the judgments of the committee, but, on the whole, the awards seemed to have been made conscientiously and without prejudice.

The
several
con-
gresses

During the fair a series of congresses was held at the Memorial Art Palace, under the direction of a committee. Those of the Department of Women's Progress, under the presidency of May Wright Sewall, lasted a week and included thirty department congresses; the Department of Public Press, under the presidency of William P. Nixon, included five department congresses as follows: Daily and General Newspapers, Press Women of the World, American Newspaper Publishers Association, Religious Press, and Trade Press Congress. Others of these auxiliary congresses were the Department of Medicine, Department of Temperance, Department of Moral and Social Reform, Department of Commerce and Finance, Department of Music, Department of Literature,



COURT OF HONOR.
Chicago World's Fair.



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING.
Chicago World's Fair.

Department of Education, Department of Engineering, Department of Art, Department of Jurisprudence and Law Reform, Department of Science and Philosophy, Congress of the Jewish Denomination, Department of Religion, of Patents and Trade-marks, of Agriculture, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and a final Association of the World's Congress. There were held 1245 sessions of these congresses, with 5974 speakers and a total attendance of over 700,000. Great preparations were made to close the fair with imposing ceremonies, but, on the day before, Mayor Harrison was assassinated and in respect to his memory the program was canceled; the final exercises were, therefore, very quiet. They took place in Festival Hall on October 30 at 1 P. M., and at 4:45 the colors of all nations, which had been at half-mast for two days, were lowered and the World's Fair came to an end.

1893

Assas-
sination
of Mayor
Harrison

The year 1893 was notable for the unprecedented number of cyclones, tornadoes, and wind storms which occurred in the Western and Southern States and along the Atlantic coast, following one another with appalling frequency and violence. They began in March, the first of any magnitude occurring on the 23d of that month in Mississippi, a cyclone destroying several small towns with property to the amount of over \$2,000,000. Hundreds of people were injured and many killed outright. On the same day, violent wind storms did great damage in the Northwestern States. In April, cyclones occurred in several of

A year
of great
storms

1893
April

Great
and wide-
spread
destruc-
tion

the Western States. On the 7th of April, there was a destructive tidal wave in Lake Michigan near Chicago, with heavy winds. Many houses were destroyed and some of the World's Fair buildings were badly damaged. On the 11th, a tornado in southern Kansas nearly destroyed the towns of Everest, Willis, and Powhatan, killing many people. Contemporaneously, heavy earthquake shocks were felt in California and along the Pacific coast. On the 20th, a terrific storm raged over a wide track of country from the Rocky Mountains to the Great Lakes. The city of Milwaukee suffered great damage and many lives were lost. The city of Chicago lay in the track of the storm, and the World's Fair buildings suffered for the second time from the effects of wind and water. A week later, a like storm passed through Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and Texas, killing and injuring hundreds of people and wiping several towns out of existence. In the month of May, six tornadoes in the Western States did an immense amount of damage.

Floods
in the
South

In addition to these wind storms were the floods along the Mississippi and other Southern rivers, and a high tide along the Atlantic coast. The worst of these river floods occurred in Louisiana and Arkansas. At East Carroll Parish, on the banks of the Mississippi, a break occurred in the levee about 300 feet wide, the escaping water drowning many and driving several thousand people from their homes. In June, a part of Baton Rouge was inundated from a smaller break. In

the New River country there was but one house for twenty-five miles along the course of the river which was not carried away or covered with the water. But the most dreadful disaster of the year was the storm of October 1. It came in from the sea without warning in the form of a tidal wave, devastating the country lying about the mouth of the Mississippi. The loss of life was estimated at 2500. On the 23d of August, a hurricane swept the whole Atlantic coast, wrecking many vessels with their crews. It was followed, five days later, by a second storm of like character, much of its fury being spent in the neighborhood of Savannah and Charleston. This was accompanied by a high tide in the neighborhood of Beaufort and Port Royal, which swept the sea islands, destroying the crops and causing great loss of life. Many shipwrecks occurred, including that of the steamer *City of Savannah*. From this point the storm passed south and did great damage along the coasts of Alabama, Florida, and Georgia. This was followed by a second violent storm on the Atlantic coast, extending from Florida to Maine, which caused many shipwrecks and a considerable loss of life. All through the year storms were unusually frequent and disastrous. The hurricanes of August and September had never before been equaled for their frequency and violence.

On May 27, the body of Jefferson Davis was removed from the tomb in New Orleans, where it was deposited after his death, and was taken to Memorial Hall in that city, where it lay in state

1893

Dreadful
tidal
waveWreck
and loss
wide-
spread

1893

Removal
of body of
Jefferson
Davis

until the following day. From there it was taken to Richmond, where it was placed in the Capitol, lying in state throughout the day. In the evening it was buried with impressive ceremonies in the Hollywood Cemetery, the vault being closed with a marble slab bearing the facsimile of the autograph of Mr. Davis.

Mormon
temple
dedicated

Upon April 6, 1893, on the sixty-third anniversary of the organization of the Mormon Church, the great temple at Salt Lake City was publicly dedicated. The temple was the work of Mormon workmen alone, and was built in accordance with the plans made by Brigham Young, who claimed to have a revelation giving its measurements. It was constructed in defiance of any recognized order of architecture, one of the most extraordinary buildings in the world of its size. Its extreme length is 186 feet and its width ninety-nine feet. With the towers, it covers an area of nearly 22,000 square feet. The foundation wall is sixteen feet thick and sixteen feet deep. Upon this the granite is nine feet thick at the bottom, and six feet at the top. There are six towers, three at each end, the height of the loftiest spire being 222 feet, this being surmounted by the capstone and by a figure representing the angel Maroni, a statue twelve feet in height, made of silver and copper covered with heavy gold leaf. The baptismal font is of bronze, and rests on the backs of twelve life-size bronze oxen. Alcoves are provided in the same room with marble bath-tubs for use in anointing with oil. In the basement the door knobs, hinges, and hardware

A mas-
sive
building

generally, are of brass, on the first floor of plated gold, on the second of plated silver, on the third of old silver, and on the fourth of old bronze. The wood for the interior of the temple is quartered oak. The upper floor contains an assembly room 120 feet long, 80 feet wide, and 36 feet high, with a seating capacity of 3000. This was the room in which the dedicatory services were held, two relays of worshipers being in attendance each day for over two weeks. The temple is lighted with electricity and heated with hot water. Stairs of granite lead from the basement to the top of the building. The cost of the temple was \$12,000,000.

1893

The
temple's
capacity

On the 4th of January, 1893, a proclamation of general amnesty for all the convicted polygamists was issued by President Harrison. Prior to this, the president of the Mormon Church had issued a manifesto proclaiming the purpose of the church to no longer sanction the practice of polygamous marriages, and calling upon all members and adherents of said church to obey the laws of the United States in reference thereto.

Mani-
festo as
to polyg-
amy

For twenty-five years there had been an unsettled question between the two governments of Great Britain and the United States, the feeling over which had become so acute that serious results were threatened. After the purchase of Alaska, the United States claimed the entire control of the seal fisheries in Bering Sea. It was the contention of Great Britain that the United States held no jurisdiction beyond a three-mile limit from land, and the Canadian seal-fishers were encouraged in

The seal
fishery
dispute

1893-4

Protec-
tion for
the seals

seal-catching outside this limit. So great had become the destruction of the seals that their extermination seemed only a matter of a few years. In 1866, the United States cruiser in the sea seized several Canadian vessels and confiscated their cargoes of seal furs. This brought about a direct issue between the two governments. A heated diplomatic correspondence ensued, and the matter was finally referred to a tribunal of arbitration which decided in 1893 that the United States had no right to control the seal fisheries beyond the three-mile limit. The decision was accompanied by provisions for the protection of the seals. This was the special point for which the United States government contended, so that while, ostensibly, the decision was in favor of Great Britain, it was, in effect, a victory for the United States.

The
Pullman
strike

In May, 1894, occurred the great Pullman strike in Chicago. On the 5th of that month a demand was made for an increase of wages upon the Pullman Company. In answer the delegates were informed that it was impossible at that time to make any raise in their wages, giving as a reason that the demand for cars had fallen off, that the men had been kept at work at a loss to the company, and that the company was actually losing money at the present rate of wages. On the following day, 2000 employees struck and threats were made to force the workmen at Louisville, St. Louis, and Wilmington, Delaware, to quit work.

Before the strike, the vice-president of the American Railway Union promised the Pullman

employees the aid of the union in declaring a boycott if their demands were not granted. On the 25th of May, the strikers announced that they would be willing to arbitrate, but President Pullman declared that arbitration could not make the company able to pay higher wages. On June 15, a national convention of the Railway Union met in Chicago, and appointed a committee to confer with the Pullman officials. The general manager of the company informed the committee that his company had nothing to arbitrate. On June 22, the Railway Union sent word that unless the company consented within five days to arbitrate its differences with its striking employees at Pullman, a boycott would be declared against the Pullman cars. The company again declared that it could entertain no proposal of arbitration from the American Railway Union. On June 26, the boycott of the American Railway Union against Pullman cars was declared.

1894

Pullman
Company
firmBoycott
declared

After the strike had been in progress six weeks, and it was clearly evident that the company had no intention of giving in, and that all that had been accomplished was to throw several thousand men into idleness, the switchmen on the Illinois Central Railroad struck in obedience to orders from the Union. The boycott at once spread rapidly to nearly all the important roads west of Chicago. The Railway Union finally ordered a strike of all its members throughout the western part of the country, and it was estimated that nearly 40,000 railroad men were out.

Railroad
men
go out

1894
June

Resort to
violence

In the mean time, a General Managers' Association had been formed at Chicago for protection. The officers of the Railway Union now decided to concentrate their fight against all the railroads, even those not using Pullman cars. Up to that time there had been no deeds of violence, but on the 28th of June a mob of a thousand persons at Hammond, Indiana, stopped the New York & Chicago limited on the Erie Road, and compelled the trainmen to detach the Pullman carriages and sidetrack them. The sheriff, finding himself unable to control the mob, called upon the governor for troops. By this time the trouble had reached across the continent, and there were disturbances in Colorado and California. Trains were stopped, the Pullman cars detached, and firemen, conductors, and engineers were assaulted. And now the United States government took a hand.

Injunction
against
the
strikers

On the 28th of June, the Attorney-General instructed the district attorney in Chicago to protect the mail trains with United States marshals. On the 1st of July, seven of the leaders were arrested in Chicago on the charge of obstructing trains that carried United States mails, and on the day following Judges Wood and Grosscup of the United States Court in Chicago issued a sweeping injunction against the strikers. Troops were ordered out in Colorado, and the State militia were mustered into service in Illinois to preserve the peace. At Blue Island, Illinois, the strikers attacked several deputy marshals, assaulted and disarmed them. On the 3d of July, the United

States regulars were called out and ordered to Chicago. At Sacramento, California, the national guard was called out. In Iowa, orders were issued for the militia to prepare for service.

1894

Troops
called
out

On the 5th of July, rioting took place in Chicago, in Utah, and at Oakland, California. The railway managers held out and refused to meet the strikers. The mayor and common council of Chicago called upon Mr. Pullman to meet his men with a view to arbitration. Governor Altgeld demanded that President Cleveland withdraw the Federal troops, which demand was refused. Every effort was made by the administration to make it appear that property was in danger and to replace the judgment of local officers by an unnecessarily imposing display of military force.

Rioting
at
various
points

Eugene V. Debs, chief of the American Railway Union, declared that the first shot fired by the regular soldiers would be the signal for civil war, and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, had also denounced the calling out of the troops as an outrage on the rights of the workingmen. Notwithstanding, the government at Washington had decided to make every effort for the concentration of troops at Chicago. It also decided that the militia and organizations of one State could be called upon to suppress disorder in another State. General Miles was in command of the United States troops, and gave orders on July 7 that if any act of hostility should be committed, such as firing upon railroad trains or

Massing
troops in
Chicago

1894
July

assaulting trainmen, marshals, or soldiers, by throwing at them rocks, pieces of iron, or other missiles, those assaults should be repelled by the use of firearms.

State-
ment of
Mana-
gers'
Asso-
ciation

On the afternoon of that day, a company of the Illinois National Guard was attacked by a mob of 15,000 people. In defense the soldiers fired three volleys, in which one man was killed and a number wounded. Another mob, in another quarter of the city, was fired upon by the police, and General Miles issued a call for additional militia regiments. The chairman of the General Managers' Association of the railroad companies made a statement, saying, "We will stand exactly where we have stood since the beginning of the strike, and where we will stand until the end. We are compelled to make this fight by the unreasonableness of the strikers. The fight must be one regardless of its consequences to any single railroad. There will be no weakening on the part of this association, and all reports to the contrary are misleading."

Mob at
Ham-
mond

President Debs and James R. Sovereign, grand master of the Knights of Labor, threatened to order a general strike throughout the country. July 8, at Hammond, Indiana, twenty miles from Chicago, the mob sacked the Western Union telegraph office, overturned and set on fire freight cars, and attacked trainmen, killing one and wounding several others. The sheriff and deputies were powerless in the hands of the mob, and the militia had not yet arrived. A company of regulars of thirty-five men was hurried out from Chicago and

stationed about the depot. In the afternoon a crowd of rioters, numbering several thousand, assembled about the depot, and several times rushed upon the little company of troops, but were met by fixed bayonets and driven back. In a final rush the troops fired several volleys, resulting in the death of ten or fifteen rioters, besides the wounding of many. President Cleveland now issued a proclamation calling on all disorderly and riotous persons to disperse by noon on the following day.

1894

Presi-
dent's
procla-
mation

On July 10, the general master workman of the Knights of Labor issued an order calling out the members throughout the country. In Chicago a special Federal grand jury had been called to investigate the strike, and make a sweeping inquiry into the conditions that prevailed in the city, and their causes. This jury, after consideration, returned indictments against Eugene V. Debs, president of the American Railway Union; George Hardy, its vice-president; Kelleher, its secretary, and L. W. Rogers, one of its directors. These men were arrested charged with conspiracy to block the progress of the United States mails. These men, with another, James Martin, who threw the switch that derailed a mail train on the night of June 30, were arrested, but were released on bail of \$10,000 each. Debs now made a formal proposition to the general railroad managers, agreeing that the men should return to work at once if they could be reinstated without prejudice, but the managers refused.

Knights
of Labor
called
outArrest of
officials

1894

Backbone
of strike
broken

It could be easily seen now that the worst of the strike was over. Thousands of troops had been massed in Chicago, and over three thousand deputy United States marshals had been sworn in. Trains were now being moved without molestation. On the 17th of July, Debs, Hardy, Kelleher, and Rogers were again arrested for contempt in disregarding an injunction issued by the court. They were lodged in jail, from which they issued an appeal to the American people everywhere to boycott Pullman cars. On the 19th, the grand jury found indictments against them and thirty-nine others who had been leaders in the strike. A commission was appointed, and from that time rioting ceased and matters soon assumed the usual conditions. Debs was sentenced to six-months' imprisonment for contempt, and the others for three months each.

The
"com-
mon-
wealers"

In the summer and fall of the same year, several organizations of unemployed laborers were formed in the West under the name of "industrial armies" and "commonwealers." The first and chief of these was that known as "Coxey's Army," from the leader, a well-meaning but irresponsible politician, who proposed to lead his army of unemployed to Washington and demand work for them of the President and Congress. With those who were really in earnest was a large element of doubtful character which joined the procession for the purpose of marauding on the way to Washington. They seized trains for transportation, defied the railroad and State authorities, and committed numerous depredations along the way. Only a

small portion of the original army reached Washington, where it soon went to pieces.

1894-5

Another army was led by a woman, and reached Washington only to meet with the fate of its predecessor. The "commonweal" movement was the natural outgrowth of local conditions, and those who took honest part in it were to be commiserated rather than ridiculed.

The
move-
ment
fails

On the 1st of January, 1895, a memorial was laid before Congress signed by 354 members of the British House of Commons. It was addressed to the President and Congress, and read as follows:

"In response to the resolution adopted by Congress on April 4, 1890, the British House of Commons, supported in its decision by Mr. Gladstone, on June 16, 1893, unanimously affirmed its willingness to coöperate with the government of the United States in settling disputes between the two countries by means of arbitration. The undersigned members of the British Parliament, while cordially thanking Congress for having by its resolution given such an impetus to the movement and called forth such a response from our government, earnestly hope that Congress will follow up its resolution and crown its desire by inviting our government to join in framing a treaty which shall bind the two nations to refer to arbitration disputes which diplomacy fails to adjust. Should such a proposal be made, our heartiest efforts would be used in its support, and we shall rejoice that the United States of America and the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland have resolved to set such a splendid example to the other nations of the world."

Text of
the
memorial

Two months later, correspondence was opened between Secretary Gresham and Sir Julian Pauncefote, on the parts, respectively, of the

1895 governments of the United States and Great Britain, looking to the establishment of the system of international arbitration for the adjustment of questions which might arise between the two governments. The matter had come up in the previous year, but without results, Lord Salisbury objecting to the suggestions of Secretary Olney on the ground that he was not prepared in matters of high political import to attempt the principle of unrestricted arbitration.

Corre-
pond-
ence
between
the
countries

Terms
of the
treaty

In answer, a general arbitration treaty was proposed which would exclude issues upon which neither government was willing to accept arbitration, such as those involving the national honor or integrity. To this the British Minister of Foreign Affairs agreed, and a draft of a treaty was prepared by Lord Salisbury which proposed that the British and American governments should each appoint two or more judiciary officers, and on the appearance of any difference between the two powers, which in the judgment of either of them could not be settled by negotiation, each of them should designate one of the said officers as arbitrator, and the two should hear and determine any matter referred to them in accordance with the treaty, having previously selected an umpire by whom any question upon which they disagreed should be decided. No question which, in the judgment of either power, affected its honor or the integrity of its territory, should be referred to arbitration except by special agreement. Some slight amendments were made when the treaty was

sent in to Congress, but it was finally accepted and signed. Any controversy involving the determination of territorial claims was to be submitted to a tribunal composed of three judges of the Supreme Court, or justices of the Circuit Court, and three judges of the British Supreme Court of Judicature, to be nominated by the British Crown. Any award in which five of the six arbitrators concurred would be accepted by both governments as final. An award made by less than this majority would have no validity if either government should within three months protest that it was erroneous. Territorial claims were defined as including all claims involving questions of servitude, rights of navigation, all access to the fisheries, and all rights and interests necessary to the control of the territory claimed by either of the high contracting parties. The treaty was concluded for five years. In the same month of the same year a treaty was signed by the Secretary of State and the British Ambassador at Washington providing for the demarkation of as much of the boundary between Alaska and the Dominion of Canada as lies along the 141st meridian.

1895

Certain
excep-
tions
agreed
upon

In this same year a dispute occurred between Venezuela and Great Britain in regard to the boundary between the possessions of the two countries. The United States government took an active interest in this boundary dispute, and a letter of instructions was sent by Secretary of State Richard Olney to Mr. Bayard, the United States Ambassador to Great Britain, in which the

Boun-
dary
quarrel

1895

What the
Monroe
Doctrine
means

principles of the Monroe Doctrine were very exactly laid down. The ground was taken that the states of America, South as well as North, by geographical proximity, by natural sympathy, and by similarity of constitution, are friends and allies commercially and politically of the United States. To allow the subjugation of any of them by any foreign power would reverse that situation, and signify the loss of all the advantages incident to their natural relations to the United States. Further, that the people of the United States have a vital interest in the cause of popular self-government, and the political control of an American state forcibly assumed by a European power would not be tolerated.

Our
impreg-
nable
position

“To-day,” said Secretary Olney, “the United States, with its infinite resources, combined with its isolated position, is master of the situation, and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers. All the advantages of this superiority are at once imperiled if the principle be admitted that European powers may convert American states into colonies or provinces of their own. The disastrous consequences to the United States of such a condition of things are obvious. The loss of prestige, of authority, and of weight in the councils of the family of nations would be among the least of them. Our own real rivals in peace as well as enemies in war would be found located at our very doors. Thus far in our history we have been spared the burdens and evils of immense standing armies, but, with the powers of Europe

Result of
change of
policy

permanently encamped on American soil, the ideal conditions we have thus far enjoyed cannot be expected to continue. We, too, must be armed to the teeth."

1895-6

The Secretary's letter of instructions called to mind the fact that France seized upon the apparent opportunity of our Civil War to set up a monarchy in the adjoining state of Mexico. Venezuela charged that Great Britain, in defining the boundary, was attempting to usurp dominion over Venezuelan territory. This charge Great Britain denied. The United States government now asked that the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety should be submitted to impartial arbitration. This, Great Britain had refused to do except upon the condition of a renunciation of the charge brought by the Venezuelan claim, and of a concession to herself of a large share of the territory in controversy. The government of the United States, said Secretary Olney, had made it clear to Great Britain and to the world that the controversy was one in which its honor and interests were involved, and the continuance of which could not be regarded with indifference, and it was now necessary to know what course the government should take in the matter. This latter, when it became public, excited a great deal of indignation in England, and popular feeling, even to the talk of war, was rampant in both countries. The result was not serious, however, and in 1896, acting in behalf of Venezuela, this government opened negotiations with Great Britain submitting

Alleged
English
encroach-
ment

Our
position
main-
tained

1896

Peaceful
con-
clusion

the boundary question to arbitration. A boundary commission was appointed, but before it could present its report, the difficulty had been arranged by an arbitration treaty between Great Britain and Venezuela, signed at Washington. This treaty provided for the settlement of the boundary dispute by arbitration.

The
Dingley
billA second
relief
measurePro-
visions
of bill

Early in the second session of the fifty-fourth Congress, Mr. Dingley of Maine introduced into the House a bill from the Committee on Ways and Means "to temporarily increase revenue to meet the expenses of the government and provide against a deficiency." Its passage was bitterly contested and it was finally tabled. It was, in effect, a general tariff bill affecting all the schedules on the list. Another measure for the relief of the Treasury was reported to the House by its Committee on Ways and Means, entitled "A bill to maintain and protect the coin reserve fund, and to authorize the issue of certificates of indebtedness to meet temporary deficiency of the revenue." The bill asked that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized at his discretion to issue certificates of indebtedness of the United States to an amount not exceeding \$50,000,000, payable in three years after their date to the bearer in lawful money of the United States of a denomination of \$20 or multiples thereof, with interest at three per cent., and to dispose of these for not less than an equal amount of lawful money of the United States at the Treasury Department; at any subtreasury of the United States, or at

such post-offices as he might select, and that the proceeds thereof should be used for the purpose prescribed in its title, and for no other. When the bill reached the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Finance, and reported back with an amendment and recommendation that it should pass as amended. The report was to strike out all after the enacting clause, and insert, "That from and after the passage of this act the mints of the United States shall be opened to the coinage of silver, and there shall be coined dollars of the weight of 412½ grains troy of standard silver, nine-tenths fine, and upon the same terms and subject to the limitations and provisions of law regulating the coinage and legal tender quality of gold, and that whenever the said coins shall be received into the Treasury, certificates may be issued therefor in the manner provided by law." Other sections provided for the coining into standard silver dollars from the bullion purchased under the act of July 14, 1890, that part representing the seigniorage, and that the said silver dollars should be issued in the payment of the current expenses against it. The substitute bill was finally passed, its title being amended so as to read, "A bill to restore the coinage of silver dollars, and for other purposes."

1896

The new
silver
dollarProvis-
ion for
payment
of
current
expenses

The Cuban question again came to the front during this session, and was warmly discussed. A joint resolution was passed directing the President of the United States to request the government of Spain to grant to the people of Cuba the

1896-7

Inter-
vention
for Cuba

power of local self-government, and in case the government of Spain shall refuse, to take possession of the Island of Cuba and hold it until its inhabitants can institute such government as they may wish, and organize and arm such forces as may be necessary to support it. On the 12th of December, a resolution was submitted to the Senate which declared that "humanity and religion, and the principles on which all civilization rests, demand that the civilized governments shall, by peaceful negotiations, or, if necessary, by force of arms, prevent and suppress the cruelties and massacres inflicted on the Armenians, subjects of Turkey, by the establishment of a government of their own people with such guarantees by the civilized powers of its authority and permanence as shall be adequate to that end." This, after discussion, was tabled.

Sym-
pathy for
the Ar-
meniansLooking
to bi-
metalism

In February of 1897, President Cleveland appointed a commission consisting of Senator Wolcott, Adlai E. Stevenson, and General Charles J. Paine to visit the governments of France, Great Britain, and Germany to confer with the United States Ambassadors in those countries, and discuss the monetary problem with a view of reaching some agreement with those countries for the establishment of bimetalism. The commissioners first visited Paris, where the plans suggested by the United States government in regard to the matter were warmly endorsed by the French government. On the 15th of July, they laid these plans and proposals before the British government as follows:



SHIP YARD, AT LAKE BENNETT.



VIEW OF DAWSON CITY.

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That the Indian mints should be opened to silver coinage, and the order making gold the only legal tender in India should be repealed; that one-fifth of the bullion in the Issue Department of the Bank of England should be placed in silver; and that the legal tender limit of silver coin should be raised from forty shillings to twenty pounds, with an agreement to coin a certain amount of silver annually.

1896-7

Pro-
posals to
England

After long consideration, Lord Salisbury prepared an official answer stating the objections to these propositions, the validity of which were acknowledged by the members of the commission. No further attempt was made to press the matter, and with the report of the committee the incident was closed.

Matter
dropped

In 1896, gold was discovered in the Klondike, in Alaska, and thousands of American adventurers poured into that region undeterred by the fierce cold or the difficulties of transportation. Two years later, like discoveries were made at Nome, which created the greatest excitement. The price of ordinary labor rose to \$15 and even \$20 a day, and even at those rates it was difficult to procure help. Nome is a place without a natural harbor, and passengers and goods had to be landed from the incoming vessels and steamers through the surf. For ten months of the year, storms prevail and wrecks are constantly occurring. In spite of these drawbacks, the town has grown, and to-day numbers over 30,000 inhabitants. It is now the western terminus of the railroad development of

The rush
to the
Klondike

1896-
1900

northwestern Alaska, whose roads extend almost to the Arctic Circle. It contains good hotels, large stores, and has daily newspapers, books, telegraph and telephone systems, electric lights, and all the usual adjuncts of civilization. Handsome residences have been built with lawns and conservatories.

Con-
struction
of first
railway

The first railroad was constructed in 1898 from Skagway to White Horse, a distance of 112 miles. It was completed in 1900 at a cost of \$250,000 a mile. Before 1898 the road was a trail over which all supplies were taken by pack-horses. The passage was rough and perilous beyond description, and horses and mules perished daily by scores. When the road was laid out, the company burned over two thousand carcasses which blocked the way. The railway cost \$5,000,000, but the profits in the first two years were \$2,000,000.

Dawson a
thriving
city

Dawson, another town in the Klondike, although numbering only about 2000 inhabitants, in 1905 is an up-to-date town with a splendid system of water-works, and a long-distance telephone system connected with all the principal mines in the region. It has handsome municipal buildings, a theatre, several churches, clubs, lodges, and public schools. In 1900, the inhabitants of the little settlement of Dawson were living on fish, canned goods, and evaporated potatoes. In 1905, every delicacy common to New York or San Francisco was obtainable. Nearly all kinds of vegetables and garden fruits have been raised in the gardens of the town.

The fisheries of Alaska are the richest in the world. Nearly 20,000 persons are engaged in the salmon fisheries alone, and the yearly output is more than was paid for the entire country. There is also an immense oil region in Alaska, the first well being found in 1902 at a place called Cotella. Stock-raising is becoming an important industry. The timber wealth of the country is enormous, and has yet been hardly touched by the woodman. Unrivalled water-power is furnished by the innumerable streams and rivers. The development of this vast region has only just begun. Its immense advantages have as yet been little exploited; its mines of gold, copper, iron, nickel, and coal are as yet practically untouched. In 1892, the foreign trade of Alaska amounted to a little more than \$28,000. Eight years later, in 1900, it had reached \$35,000,000, and each year since has witnessed a surprising growth in business.

1896-
1902

Natural
resources
of Alaska

In the fall elections of 1896, eight different political parties were represented. The first to hold its convention was the regular Prohibition party, which met at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, May 28, 1896. The majority of delegates at this convention declared prohibition as the sole issue of the party. On this platform Josiah E. Levering of Baltimore, Maryland, was nominated for President, and Hale Johnson of Illinois for Vice-President. A strong minority of the delegates insisted upon adding to this issue others in favor of free coinage, government control of railroads and telegraphs, woman's suffrage, and populism. A split

The Pro-
hibition
Con-
vention

1896
June

ensued, and the minority-report signers withdrew and held a meeting in a separate hall, where they organized the National party and declared their platform. The main plank was that of prohibition, and the others that had been previously suggested. On this platform of the minority, Charles E. Bentley of Nebraska and James H. Southgate of North Carolina were nominated for President and Vice-President.

Repub-
licans in
con-
vention

Decla-
rations
of the
platform

The next to assemble was the Republican National Convention, which met at St. Louis on June 16, and was in session three days. In the declaration of principles which prefaced the platform it declared Democratic control of the government to have been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster; that it had piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade, closed factories, reduced work and wages, and that, therefore, the government should be rescued from the hands of those who had shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad. The platform declared in favor of a protective tariff, for reciprocity, for the restoration of the merchant marine, for sound money, for pensions for the veterans of the Union armies, for a firm, vigorous, and dignified foreign policy, for a reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine, for interference with Spanish rule in Cuba, for the extension and enforcement of the immigration

laws, for the strict carrying out of the Civil Service law, for labor arbitration, and for the free homestead policy. After the reading of the platform by Senator Foraker, Senator Teller of Colorado offered a minority report which read: "We, the undersigned members of the Committee on Resolutions, being unable to agree with that part of the majority report which treats of the subject of coinage and finance, respectfully submit the following paragraph as a substitute therefor: The Republican party favors the use of both gold and silver as equal standard money, and pledges its power to secure the free, unrestricted, and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the rate of sixteen parts of silver to one of gold." The report was accompanied by a speech by Senator Teller, after which it was moved to lay the substitute on the table. A roll-call was demanded, and the majority report was approved by a vote of 818 to 105. A separate roll-call was taken on the financial plank of the platform with almost the same result. When the vote was announced, Senator Cannon of Utah read a formal declaration of withdrawal from the convention of the delegates from the silver States; following, the silver advocates retired from the hall, carrying with them the standard which had marked their position among the delegates. The retiring number was twenty-one, including four Senators and two Representatives. Five candidates were placed in nomination: William B. Allison, Thomas B. Reed, Levi P. Morton, William

1896
June

The
minority
report

Silver
States
withdraw

1896 McKinley, and Matthew S. Quay. Mr. McKinley¹
 June- was nominated on the first ballot, 661 votes having
 July been cast in his favor. On the vote for Vice-Presi-
 Repub- dent, Garrett A. Hobart² of New Jersey received
 lican
 nominees 533 votes and the nomination.

Conven- The regular Democratic Convention was held
 tion of at Chicago on July 7-10, with Senator White of
 Demo- California as permanent chairman. The platform
 cratic contained a silver plank, and denounced the issue
 party of notes intended to circulate as money by national
 banks as unconstitutional. It held that tariff
 duties should be levied for purposes of revenue
 only, and that such duties should be so adjusted
 as to operate equally throughout the country, with
 no discrimination between class or section, and
 that taxation should be limited by the needs of the
 government. It denounced trusts, declared for

¹William McKinley, twenty-fifth President of the United States, was born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, in 1844. When the Civil War broke out, he was a teacher in a country school. Although only seventeen years old, he enlisted as a private in the Twenty-third Ohio Regiment, afterwards commanded by Rutherford B. Hayes. He showed conspicuous bravery at the battles of Antietam, Opequan, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek, and was advanced to the grade of major. At the close of the war, he studied law and began practicing in the little town of Canton, Ohio. In 1877, he entered Congress as a Republican Representative from Ohio, and served almost continuously until 1881. During his last term, as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, he became the author of the McKinley bill. In 1891, and again in 1898, he was elected governor of Ohio, and gave evidence of unusual executive ability.

²Vice-President Hobart had had a long experience in public life. As a member of the New Jersey Legislature, his ability was early recognized, and in his second term he was chosen speaker of that body. He also served in the State Senate, of which he was twice President. For more than ten years he was chairman of the State Republican Committee of New Jersey. Mr. Hobart died in the second year of the administration.

State rights, favored soldiers' pensions, help for Cuba, the upholding of the Monroe Doctrine, and announced in a roundabout manner its belief in the Jacksonian doctrine, or, "To the victors belong the spoils." A minority report, signed by sixteen delegates, who were members of the Committee on Resolutions, objected to several of the planks of the platform, some of which they declared "are wholly unnecessary, some are ill considered and ambiguously forced, while others are extreme and revolutionary to the well-recognized principles of the party. We declare our belief," the report went on to say, "that the experiment on the part of the United States alone of free silver coinage, and a change in the existing standard of value independently of the action of other great nations, would not only imperil our finances, but would retard or entirely prevent the establishment of international bimetalism to which the efforts of the government should be steadily directed. . . . We demand that the national credit shall be resolutely maintained at all times and under all circumstances." The convention refused to accept the minority report by a vote of 628 nays to 301 yeas. Five ballots were cast for the Presidential nominee, and as many for Vice-President. The successful candidates were William Jennings Bryan¹ for the first place on the

1896
July

Emphatic
report
of the
minority

Nomi-
nation of
Bryan

¹William Jennings Bryan was born in Salem, Marion County, Illinois, March 19, 1860. His father was a lawyer and well-known politician, having served eight years in the Illinois Legislature. The son entered Illinois College at the age of seventeen, and graduated in 1881. He made his mark during his college course as a speaker in

1896
July

ticket, with Arthur Sewell of Maine for the second place.

Demo-
cratic
revolt

Immediately after the adoption of the platform at Chicago, thousands of leading Democrats announced their opposition to the ticket and the platform. More than a hundred daily papers under Democratic control made open revolt. In New York City every Democratic and independent newspaper, with one exception, refused to support the Democratic candidates, and many of them declared in favor of McKinley. The same action was taken by the Democratic press of nearly every large city in the country.

The
Socialist
Labor
platform

Contemporaneous with this convention was the one held by the Socialist Labor party in New York City, July 9. The platform demanded reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production; possession by the general government of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones, and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same coöperatively under control of

oratorical contests. He was married in 1885, and two years later removed from his native town to Lincoln, Nebraska, where he opened a law office and met with immediate success. In 1888, he was elected a delegate to the Democratic State Convention at Omaha, where he made a speech which brought him immediately to the front. The next year he was offered a nomination for lieutenant-governor, which he declined. In 1890, he was made the party candidate for Congress, and was elected by over 7,000 votes over his Republican opponent. In Congress his speeches were so eloquent and effective that he was regarded as the leading speaker on the Democratic side of the House. When the Bland Silver bill came before Congress, he was its most conspicuous advocate. In 1894, he was a candidate for the United States Senate, but was defeated. At the opening of the Chicago Convention he was not seriously regarded as a candidate for the Presidential nomination, but he carried the body off its feet by an impassioned speech in reply to Senator David B. Hill and other advocates of the gold standard.

the Federal government, and to elect their own superior officers; no employees to be discharged for political reasons; the public lands to be declared inalienable; the revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which had not been complied with; the government to have the exclusive right to issue money; inventions to be free to all, the inventors to be remunerated by the nation; progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; education of children to be compulsory, with government help when required; repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws, with an unabridged right of combination; prohibition of the employment of children of school age, and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality; entire abolition of the contract labor system; employment of the unemployed by the public authorities; equal wages for equal service, and efficient employers' liability law; general abolition of the veto power of the Executive; abolition of the United States Senate and all State Senates; direct vote and secret ballots in all elections; universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed, or sex. On this platform Charles H. Matchett of New York was nominated for President, and Matthew MacGuire for Vice-President.

1896
July

Detailed
declara-
tion of
princi-
ples

Their
nominees

On July 22, 23, and 24, the Populists' Convention was held at St. Louis. Its demands were for a national money issue by the general government only, without the intervention of banks, the issue

1896
July

Demands
of the
Populists

to be full and legal tender for all debts, public and private; the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the legal ratio of sixteen to one, without waiting for the consent of other nations; that the volume of circulating medium be at once increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of the business and population, and to restore the just level of prices of labor and production; that the government, in payment of its obligations, should use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid; that the income tax should be graduated to the end that aggregate wealth should bear its just proportion of taxation; that government should have control of railroads and telegraphs, and that private land monopoly, as well as alien ownership, should be prohibited; that *bona-fide* settlers on all public lands should be granted free homes. A minority reported a substitute platform demanding a national currency; the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at a ratio of sixteen to one; that the circulating medium should consist of gold, silver, and paper, with other minor declarations. This was defeated by a very large majority. William J. Bryan, nominee of the Democratic Convention, was made the head of the ticket, with Arthur Sewell as second.

The
minority
report

National
Silver-
ites also

The convention of the National Silver party was held at St. Louis on the same date. Its one plank declared the party it represented as unalterably opposed to the single gold standard, and demanded the immediate return to the constitutional standard of gold and silver by the restoration



WILLIAM J. BRYAN.



JOHN M. PALMER.

by the government of the unrestricted coinage of both gold and silver into standard money at the ratio of sixteen to one, and upon terms of exact quality as they existed prior to 1873. The ticket was identical with that of the Populists: William J. Bryan for President and Arthur Sewell of Maine for Vice-President.

1896
July-
Sept.

Platform
of one
plank

The Convention of the gold Democrats did not meet until fall. It opened at Indianapolis on September 2, and lasted two days. Forty-one States, with 888 delegates, responded to the first roll-call. It denounced the declarations of the Chicago Convention as an attack upon individual freedom, the right of private contracts, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws. It denounced protection and free coinage of silver as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense of the masses. It recognized gold as the necessary money of the large affairs of commerce and business, while silver was adapted to minor transactions, and advocated the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measure, with the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable restrictions. The free and unlimited coinage of silver and the compulsory purchase of silver bullion were strongly denounced. The platform also demanded that no backward step be taken in the direction of civil service reform, but that the undemocratic spoils system of appointments should be eradicated. The ticket selected by this convention was headed by General John M. Palmer of

Gold
Demo-
crats
have
their
turn

Want
gold as
the
standard

1896 Illinois, with General S. B. Buckner of Kentucky for the second place.

The Republican Committee tried to induce Mr. McKinley to engage in the campaign by speaking at some of the principal points in the West. This he absolutely refused to do. But the people would not be denied. They began to flock by thousands to his home in Canton, where, from his own doorstep, he gave them welcome and spoke freely upon the questions involved in the contest. In a little more than four months' time, 750,000 strangers had come in special excursion trains from all parts of the country for the express purpose of hearing from Mr. McKinley's own mouth the declaration of his principles and the course he proposed to pursue in case of his election. During the campaign he made more than 300 speeches at his own door. On one day excursionists representing thirty different States, and numbering over 50,000, crowded the streets and fields of the little town.

The total vote for President in the autumn of 1896 was 13,926,757. The Republican vote reached 7,104,244. That of the Democrats, including Populists and Silver party, each having Bryan at the head of its ticket, was 6,506,835. The National Democratic vote was 134,652. The vote of the two Prohibition parties aggregated 144,606. The Socialist Labor candidate polled 46,416. That portion of the Democratic vote supported by Populists contributed 217,000 towards the Democratic total.

McKinley
not a
cam-
paigner

Canton
becomes
centre of
interest

Sum-
mary of
vote for
Presi-
dent

